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G.D.D. 2

SUBJECT: C.P.N.Z.: RELATIONS with COMMUNIST PARTY U.S .S .R.

FILE No. 21/2/26

~~NAME~~

VOL.

~~DATE OF BIRTH~~

~~OCCUPATION~~

RELEVANT PAPERS

TRANSIT DIRECTIONS

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
CS	27/6/66						
D	28/6						
CSI	21/6/66						
CS	30/6/66						
R	6 7.						
R	28 7 67						
CS	22/8/67.						
R	25/8/67						
CSI	26/2/69						
R	28/2/69						
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FILE OPENED:

FILE CLOSED:

Extract from "Peoples Voice" Newspaper.

Published at , on [date] 28 3 88

SUB T:

NATIONAL CONFLICTS EXPOSE SOVIET COUNTER - REVOLUTION

Dozens of Soviet citizens have been killed over the last month during nationalist clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Soviet authorities have publicly admitted the murders of 34 people in an explosion of national hatred in Transcaucasia.

The Transcaucasian nationalist conflict is getting worse as the demonstrations involving tens of thousands in recent days show. And there have been many other nationalist upheavals over the last few years involving Kazakhs, Tartars, Letts, Lithuanians, Estonians and Georgians.

A senior Soviet law official, Deputy Prosecutor-General Alexander Katusev, described the Transcaucasian riots as "pogroms". Katusev told the Azerbaijani Communist Party newspaper Bakinsky Rabochy: "In Sumgait there were massive disorders, accompanied by pogroms, arson and other terrible crimes."

The pogroms carried out in the old Tsarist Empire to destroy the united front of working people of all nationalities against the common oppressor are again making a revival in the Soviet Union. These present-day pogroms expose the betrayal of socialism by all Soviet rulers from the time of Khrushchev onwards.

The counter-revolution in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin ruptured the united front of working people of all nationalities which, in the time of Lenin and Stalin, cemented the role of the working class as the ruling class.

BIRTH OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

The creation of the Soviet Union after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution freed the oppressed nationalities from what they called the Tsar's "prison of nations". In its place grew the voluntary union of 15 national republics encompassing the biggest nationalities like the Russians, Georgians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Armenians and Azerbaijanis, together with over three dozen "autonomous regions" where smaller nationalities could run their local affairs in their own languages.

For the first time in history, a multi-national state was formed on the basis of free association of equal national partners. This expressed the state power of the working class and its own Communist Party in the arena of national interests. The main architect of this Marxist national policy was Joseph Stalin, the leading Bolshevik theoretician on the "national question" before 1917 and Commissar of Nationalities after the revolution, who worked in close harmony with Lenin in the building of the new union of Soviet republics.

Stalin consistently fought for proletarian internationalism in opposition to bourgeois nationalism. He always based his theories and practice on the Marxist call: "Workers Of The World Unite!"

- Continued on next page

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om "Peoples Voice" Newspaper. 21/2/26
ed at ______, on [date] 28-3-88
ECT:
B

21/2/26

Soviet Republics

Estonia
Latvia
Lithuania
Byelorussia
Moscow
Moldavia
Ukraine
Caspian Sea
RUSSIA
Georgia
Armenia
Azerbaijan
Kazakhstan
Aral Sea
Uzbekistan
Turkmenia
Kirghizia
Tadjikstan

SOVIET REPUBLICS

RUSSIA
Population 145m, 83% Russian.

UKRAINE
Pop 52m, 70% Ukrainian.

UZBEKISTAN
Pop 20m, 60% Uzbek.

KAZAKHSTAN
Pop 17m, 40% Kazakh.

BYELORUSSIA
Pop 10m, 80% Byelorussian.

AZERBAIJAN
Pop 7m, 70% Azerbaijani.

GEORGIA
Pop 5.5m, 65% Georgian.

TADJIKSTAN
Pop 5m, 55% Tadjik.

MOLDAVIA
Pop 4.5m, 65% Moldavian.

KIRGHIZIA
Pop 4.3m, 45% Kirghiz.

LITHUANIA
Pop 3.7m, 75% Lithuanian.

ARMENIA
Pop 3.5m, 85% Armenian.

TURKMENIA
Pop 3.5m, 65% Turkmen.

LATVIA
Pop 2.7m, 55% Latvian.

ESTONIA
Pop 1.6m, 60% Estonian.

NATIONAL CONFLICTS

- From previous page

Stalin recognised the cause of temporary upsurges of blind nationalism among workers. He put it this way when describing the upsurge of national chauvinism after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution: "The period of counter-revolution brought disillusionment in the movement and lack of faith in common forces. As long as people believed in a bright future, they fought side by side irrespective of nationality - common questions first and foremost! But when doubt crept into people's hearts, they began to depart, each to his own national tent - let every man count only upon himself! The national question first and foremost!"

One of the hallmarks of capitalism is national oppression and national hatred. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union has stirred up all forms of national chauvinism.

The immediate cause of the recent Transcaucasian pogroms was the demand by the Armenian Republic for the return of the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh from the Azerbaijani Republic. The majority of people in Nagorno-Karabakh are of Armenian descent.

But in the time of Lenin and Stalin, the age-old territorial disputes between the Transcaucasian nations of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia were peacefully settled according to the common interests of the working people of these nations.

Thus in December 1920, when Armenia threw off capitalist rule and became a socialist republic, Soviet Azerbaijan immediately renounced all claims to disputed territories, and voluntarily ceded Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia in order to strengthen Soviet rule there at a critical time.

And in 1923, to assist the most harmonious socialist development of the whole Transcaucasian region,

-Continued on page 17

from “______” Newspaper.

hed at ______, on [date]______

BJECT: ______

NATIONAL CONFLICTS

– From page 8

Armenia voluntarily ceded Nagorno-Karabakh back to Azerbaijan with the status of an autonomous region handling its own local affairs in its own language.

COMMUNIST SOLUTION IN TRANSCAUCASIA

In July 1921, Stalin outlined the tasks of Communists in Transcaucasia, where three years of capitalist counter-revolution had stirred up all sorts of national chauvinism.

He said: "Concrete conditions impose on Soviet Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan the duty of uniting their economic activities. The necessity of mutual support and contact between the Transcaucasian independent Soviet republics is obvious and indisputable. If I mention these commonplace truths it is only because certain circumstances have arisen during the past three years which hinder such union. I refer to nationalism – Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijanian – which has shockingly increased in the Transcaucasian republics during the past few years and is an obstacle to joint effort."

"I remember the years 1905-17," Stalin continued, "when complete fraternal solidarity was to be observed among the workers of the Transcaucasian nationalities, when fraternal ties bound the Armenian, Georgian, Azerbaijanian and Russian workers into one socialist family. Now, upon my arrival in Tiflis [the Georgian capital], I have been astounded by the absence of the former solidarity between the workers of the nationalities of Transcaucasia. Nationalism has developed among the workers and peasants, a feeling of distrust of their comrades of other nationalities has grown strong."

Stalin went on: "The old ties of fraternal confidence are severed, or at least greatly weakened. The three years of nationalist [capitalist] governments in Georgia, in Azerbaijan, and in Armenia have left their mark. By pursuing their nationalist policy, by working among the toilers in a spirit of aggressive nationalism, these nationalist governments finally brought matters to the point where each of these small countries found itself surrounded by a hostile atmosphere. No wonder that in this poisonous nationalist atmosphere the old international ties have been severed and the minds of the workers poisoned by nationalism."

"The immediate task of the Communists," continued Stalin, "is to wage a ruthless struggle against nationalism, to restore the old fraternal international bonds that existed before the nationalist government came on the scene, and thus to create that healthy atmosphere of mutual confidence which is necessary for uniting the economic efforts of the Transcaucasian Soviet Republics."

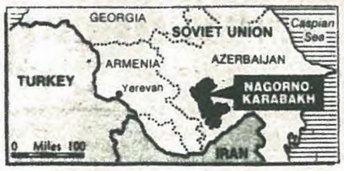
Stalin warned: "It is precisely in order to dispel the atmosphere of mutual distrust, and to restore the bonds of fraternity between the workers of the nationalities of Transcaucasia and Russia, that the independence of Georgia and Azerbaijan and Armenia must be preserved. This presupposes the necessity of mutual economic and other support, and also the necessity of uniting the economic efforts of the independent Soviet republics on the basis of voluntary agreement."

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM OR BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

So Stalin put the question as plain as day: either bourgeois nationalism or proletarian internationalism. Workers of different nationalities can only defend their common class interests by uniting with each other against the power of international monopoly capital.

In an earlier article Stalin had put it this way: "The more powerfully the wave of nationalism advanced, the louder had to be the call of Communism for fraternity and unity among the proletarians of all the nationalities of Russia."

But today in the counter-revolutionary Soviet Union, the Communist Party leaders of the different republics are backing their own national interests, in order to prop up their own position as members of the new Soviet ruling class. These exploiters who hide behind a "communist" label are helping to stir up blind hatred against the peoples of other nationalities.



This was evident in the dirty role played by Communist Party leaders in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh who instigated and led the anti-Azerbaijanian campaign. While they were careful not to get blood on their own hands, nevertheless they were responsible for creating the ideological climate that gave rise to the bloody pogroms of recent days.

And most to blame of all is the Gorbachev clique which, by taking the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union to a more open stage, has intensified all the class and national antagonisms inevitable in all capitalist societies.

The perestroika doctrine of the Gorbachev clique, which is "restructuring" Soviet society in the same mould as Western capitalist societies, is also producing the same class antagonisms between a tiny class of exploiters and the great mass of exploited toilers of town and country.

The Soviet ruling class is resorting to the same divide-and-rule tactics of playing one group of workers off against another as employed by the monopoly rulers in the West.

This is why the "national question" was described by Gorbachev, in a recent speech to the Communist Party Central Committee, as "the most fundamental and vital issue of our society". In typical bourgeois fashion, Gorbachev exerts his efforts to bury the fundamental question of class beneath splitting issues like nationality and race.

At the same time, the "national question" is looming larger for workers as they oppose the Gorbachev policy of "Russification" (awarding key posts in the non-Russian republics to Russians) which is returning the Soviet Union to the "prison of nations" it was under the Tsar.

At the moment, this wave of opposition to Gorbachev's "prison of nations" policy is following

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NATIONAL CONFLICTS

– From previous page

bourgeois slogans like "One Nation, One Republic!" chanted by huge crowds in the Armenian capital of Yerevan. But such bourgeois slogans offer no solution to the main problem of uniting Soviet workers of all nationalities against their common enemy – the new Soviet ruling class that exploits and oppresses them all.

TRANSCAUCASIAN NATIONALITIES

In March 1918, Stalin gave a graphic picture of the difficulties facing Communists seeking to unite the Transcaucasian working people in the struggle for socialism. He said: "Of all the border regions of the Russian Federation, Transcaucasia is the most distinguished for the abundance and diversity of the nationalities it comprises. Georgians and Russians, Armenians and Azerbaijan Tartars, Turks and Lesghians, Ossetians and Abkhazians – this is a far from complete picture of the national diversity of the population of Transcaucasia."

"Not one of these national groups," Stalin went on, "has clearly defined national boundaries, they all live intermingled and interspersed, and not only in the towns but in the countryside as well. That explains why the common struggle of the Transcaucasian national groups against the centre in Russia [i.e. against the Tsarist regime] was so frequently obscured by the bitter struggle they wage among themselves. And that creates a very convenient opportunity to camouflage the class struggle with national flags and tinsel."

But the difficult "national question" in Transcaucasia was completely solved by the socialist policy of Stalin and Lenin expressed in the new union of Soviet republics – until the Khrushchevite counter-revolution destroyed all this good work.

STALIN'S THESES

Stalin's "Theses On The National Question", written in February 1921, guided the Bolshevik Party in the elimination of national antagonisms in the Soviet Union.

These theses stated: "Whereas private property and capital inevitably disunite people, foment national strife and intensify national oppression, collective property and labour just as inevitably unite people, strike at the root of national strife and abolish national oppression. The existence of capitalism without national oppression is just as inconceivable as the existence of socialism without the liberation of the oppressed nations, without national freedom. The victory of the Soviets and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship are a fundamental condition for abolishing national oppression, establishing national equality and guaranteeing the rights of national minorities."

"The experience of the Soviet revolution," Stalin continued, "has fully confirmed this thesis. The establishment of the Soviet system in Russia and the proclamation of the right of nations to secede changed completely the relations between the labouring masses of the different nationalities in Russia, struck at the root of the old national enmity, removed the ground for national oppression and won for the Russian workers the confidence of their brothers of other nationalities. The establishment of Soviet republics in Azerbaijan and Armenia has led to the same results, for it has eliminated national conflicts and has settled the age-old enmity between the Armenian and Azerbaijanian labouring masses."

Stalin's theses went on to explain the national diversity of the united Soviet republics, where almost half the population consisted of scores of non-Russian nationalities such as Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Tartars, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Bashkirs, and many more.

Then the theses stated: "The policy of Tsarism, the policy of the landlords and the bourgeoisie towards these [non-Russian] peoples, was to kill whatever germs of statehood existed among them, to mutilate their culture, to restrict their languages, to keep them in ignorance, and lastly, as far as possible, to Russify them. The result of this policy was the underdevelopment and political backwardness of these peoples."

Stalin continued: "Now that the landlords and the bourgeoisie have been overthrown and Soviet power has been proclaimed by the masses of the people in these countries too, the Party's task is to help the labouring masses of the non-Russian peoples to catch up with central Russia, which has forged ahead, to help them:

(a) to develop and strengthen their Soviet statehood in forms corresponding to the national complexion of these peoples;

(b) to set up their courts, administration, economic organisations and organs of power, functioning in the native languages and staffed with local people familiar with the manner of life and the mentality of the local population;

(c) to develop their press, schools theatres, recreation clubs, and cultural and educational institutions generally, functioning in the native languages."

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

The Bolshevik Central Committee adopted Stalin's theses as its guideline for the 10th Party Congress held in March 1921. And in the years to follow the Bolshevik Party, by basing its practice on Stalin's theories on the national question, completely ended the old national conflicts and united all toilers of town and country on the road of socialist construction and working class state power.

This socialist road is still the only way out of exploitation and oppression for the Soviet toilers today. The betrayal of socialism by the followers of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Gorbachev cannot bury this truth. Indeed, the upsurge of all the class and national oppression of the toilers, eliminated in the time of Lenin and Stalin, shows more clearly than ever that the socialist road is the road of working class liberation.

The duty of all class conscious workers is to uphold the tried and tested Marxist call: "Workers Of The World Unite!"

To contact the
Communist Party of NZ
write to
P.O. Box 1785 Auckland

Extract from "People's Voice 21/2/26" Newspaper.

Published at Wellington, on [date] 6 July 87

SUB T:

NZ & Soviet bosses 'flock together'

Two important conclusions arise after reading an article in the financial pages of the NZ Herald on June 4.

The article, entitled 'Soviet Work Guarantee Under Fire' was in the section of the Herald addressed to the capitalist class and not the general public.

It suggests that there is a more benevolent attitude towards Soviet imperialism.

Previously the Herald was firmly aligned with the US brand of imperialism and would have given this article front page space as anti-Soviet propaganda designed to confuse the public about socialist principles - which the Herald knows full well have long been sold out by the new revisionist rulers of this former great socialist nation.

MARKET

The material reason for the change in the Herald's treatment of the news could well be that the USSR is already a good market for some NZ production and could well develop more while the USA is drying up as a market and becoming more politically hostile.

So the article shows the capitalist class here that the new rulers of the USSR are serious capitalists grappling with similar problems.

That the USSR ruling class is restructuring and 'freeing up the labour market' so workers can be more freely exploited.

That there are no class barriers to an alignment with Soviet imperialism.

The article itself was taken from the well-known Soviet publication Novy Mir.

The writer unashamedly puts forward one of the most basic laws of capitalism - that an easily available over supply of labour must exist at all times for the further development of capitalist accumulation.

Take this quote:- 'the real danger of losing one's job .... is a good remedy for laziness, drunkenness and irresponsibility'.

Familar words for workers of the capitalist world and always a prelude to speed-ups and sackings.

In this case it is ground work preparing to attack one of the few remaining rights of the Soviet workers.

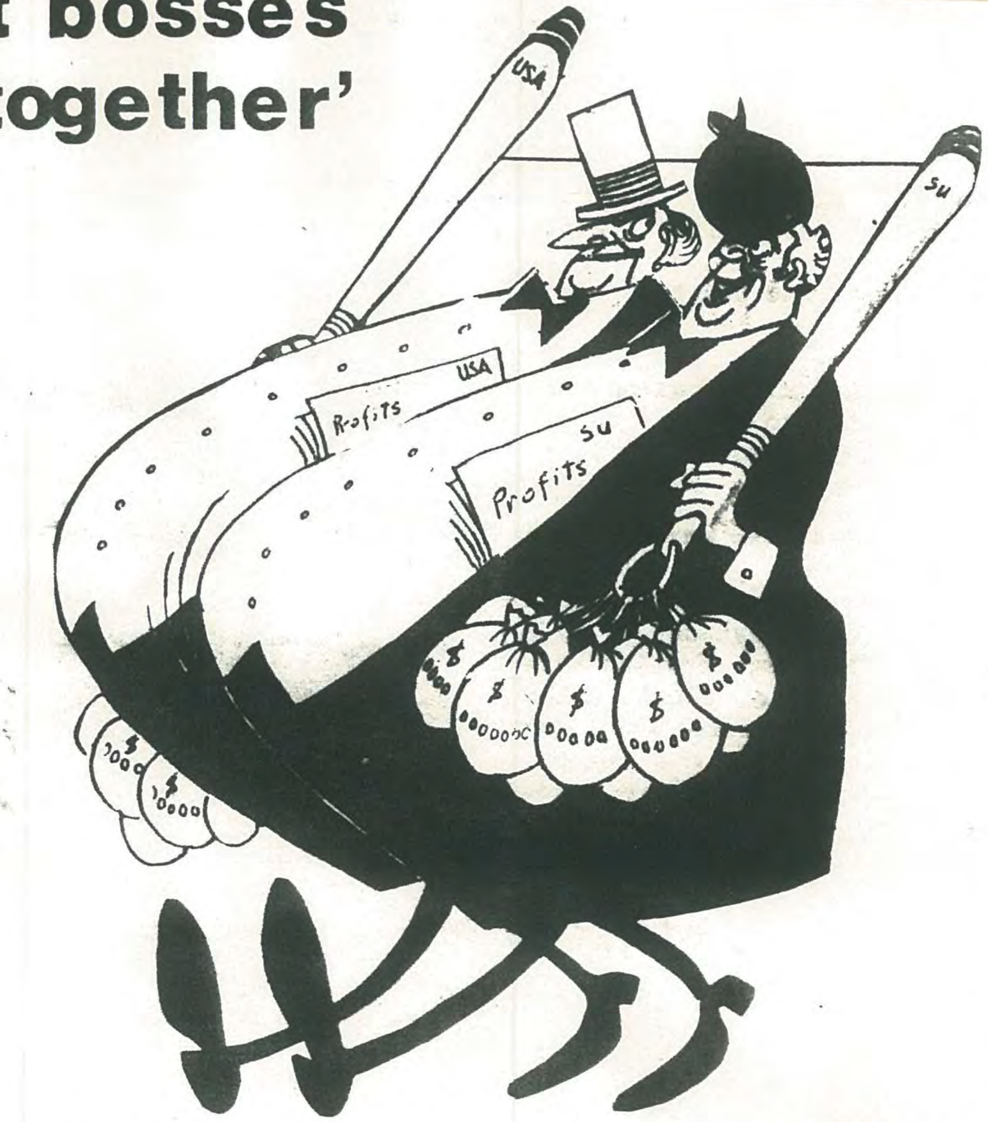
In the past, when it was a great socialist nation under the dictatorship of the working class, led by the Communist Party with Stalin at its head, the Soviet Constitution guaranteed the right to work.

The new ruling class which usurped power from the workers has long got around this in devious ways. Unemployment is covered up by subterfuges like 'transfers' to new jobs which take months or longer, or by 'retirements' and the 'golden handshake' - all methods very familiar to NZ workers.

Now the revisionists want to abolish the legal right to work and create a more docile, mobile and flexible workforce for the new ruling class.

So too in the USSR, there are ideological preparations preceding attacks on hard won benefits, just as here groups like the Round Table issue 'suggestions' that are really orders for increased attacks on social welfare and other benefits won by long hard struggles by the workers and other progressive people in NZ.

Bird of a feather flock together!



21/2/26

Extract from "Peoples Voice" Newspaper.

Published at ______, on [date] 14-5-84

SUBJECT: ______

◆

The Communist Party of NZ is a detachment of the international Marxist-Leninist movement and stands on the principles of proletarian internationalism. It fights for the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement and in its relations with fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties adheres to the principles of independence, complete equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of other parties and reciprocal fraternal international cooperation and aid.

21/2/30
21/2/26
21/2/27

On the basis of these principles, the CPNZ maintains fraternal relations with the Party of Labour of Albania, the Party which is leading the only socialist country in the world and which is showing by example the truth of Marxism-Leninism. In accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism it is the duty of all Communists to uphold and defend fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and socialist countries.

As a detachment of the international Communist movement its tasks are to defend the purity of the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism as put forward by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and to wage an irreconcilable struggle for the complete exposure and defeat of modern revisionism, social democracy and all forms of opportunism, and in particular the international revisionist currents led by the Soviet and Chinese revisionists.

The CPNZ fights to instil in the NZ working class the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to raise socialist consciousness among the working class, lifting their political outlook above the narrow economic level so they see the absolute necessity to take up the political struggle for the abolition of exploitation by the capitalist class.

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ITEM 509]

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21/12/26

Extract from "Peoples Voice" Newspaper.

Published at ______, on [date] 14-5-84

SU CT:

The CPNZ has maintained a clear and unequivocal stand in opposition to the rise of revisionism in the once socialist Soviet Union and other former socialist countries. The seizure of power by the Khrushchevite revisionists after the death of Stalin led to the turning of the Soviet Union on to the path of the restoration of capitalism and into an imperialist superpower.

The CPNZ also maintains a clear stand against Chinese revisionism which arises from 'Mao Tsetung Thought' which held back the Chinese revolution at the level of bourgeois - democracy under the leadership of a party which posed as 'Marxist-Leninist' but which was in fact based on Chinese bourgeois nationalism and could only lead to the open bourgeois dictatorship which is so clearly evident in China today. We reject the Chinese 'Three World Theory' which denies the socialist revolution and serves imperialism.

The basic interests of the working class demand opposition to plunder and domination by all imperialism and the organisation of mass struggle against it. However the fight against imperialism is inseparable from the fight against opportunism and revisionism within the working class movement and internationally.

TAKEN [redacted]
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ITEM 509

Extract from "Peoples Voice" Newspaper. 21/2/26

Published at , on [date] 16.4.84

SUB CT:

"DEVELOPED SOCIALISM" IN THE SOVIET UNION NOURISHES RELIGION

THE MARXIST-LENINIST

MARCH 12, 1984,

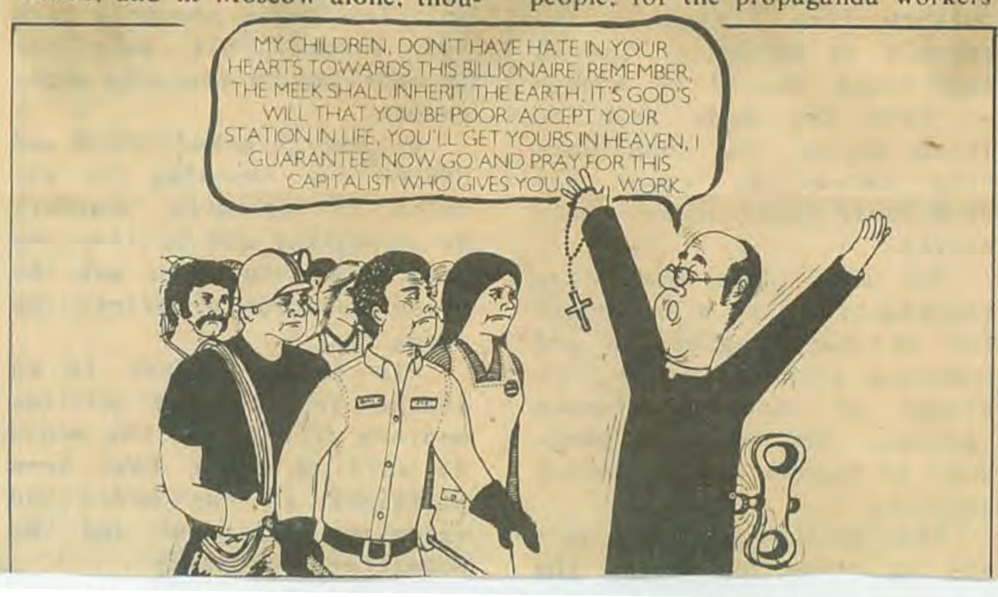
With the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and the advent to power of the revisionists, no effort has been spared in supporting every evil and retrogressive force which serves even in the slightest the aims of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. This is why today they put religion on a pedestal and spare no efforts to support, finance and encourage the religious institutions and the propagation of obscurantist religious ideas. This is because "developed socialism" needs religion in order to realize its anti-worker and anti-people aims at home and its counter-revolutionary and expansionist aims abroad.

According to *Pravda*, in recent years "hundreds of large mosques and thousands of village mosques have been built or reconstructed" in the Soviet Union. The Church publishes its own newspapers, reviews and calendars in millions of copies, religious icons and postcards have a wide circulation, the Koran and the Bible have been reprinted time and time again. Thus, today, there are 20,000 orthodox and Catholic churches, mosques, Buddhist temples, etc. in the Soviet Union; the state finances big enterprises which produce the religious objects and publish the Bible and other religious books, and in Moscow alone, thousands of copies are published of six religious periodicals, such as the magazine *Moscow's Patriarchy*, *Works on Theology*, and so on, and two big institutions and scores of seminaries function for the training of "servants of God".

The Soviet newspapers also admit to the number of marriages, baptisms and other religious ceremonies which are being performed in the churches. It is clear that such a blossoming of religious activity and propaganda could not take place without the approval and support of the Soviet revisionist party. The fact is that "developed socialism" promotes religion because it needs it to consolidate its oppressive political and social order and the Russian Church helps the Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie by poisoning the minds of the working masses and by preaching Christian submission.

This is why, every year, the highest Soviet functionaries send messages of greeting to the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. This is also why the chairman of one of the state committees of the Council of Ministers, a certain Kuroyedov, published a voluminous book which, according to *Pravda* which reviewed the book, was specifically written for the "Soviet working people, for the propaganda workers and the teachers in the higher schools" and which set out to tell its readers, at home and abroad, that the priests and their followers in the Soviet Union are well off, that they "take an active part in the construction of communism" and that the Church in the Soviet Union "is active in the defence of peace in the world".

General Fitzum, wartime Gestapo chief in Albania, is shown here chatting affably with the collaborator Anton Harapi, one of the Catholic church leaders who worked first with the Italian fascists against the liberation movement led by the Albanian Communists. Later some of these religious traitors used their churches as arsenals for Anglo-American saboteurs and spies. The bosses in the Vatican are
still screaming about the pe
justice meted out to these
fascists. It is a different
of course, in Poland wher
Church backs Solidarity be
it serves one imperialist p
against the other.


MY CHILDREN, DON'T HAVE HATE IN YOUR HEARTS TOWARDS THIS BILLIONAIRE. REMEMBER, THE MEEK SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH. IT'S GOD'S WILL THAT YOU BE POOR. ACCEPT YOUR STATION IN LIFE. YOU'LL GET YOURS IN HEAVEN, I GUARANTEE. NOW GO AND PRAY FOR THIS CAPITALIST WHO GIVES YOU WORK.

This "defence of peace" can be seen in the activity of the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, which approved the Soviet fascist aggression against Afghanistan, and the patriarch Pitirim, soon after making this declaration, was awarded the order of "People's Friendship" for his "patriotic activity and defence of peace".

CHURCH BLESSINGS

The Soviet revisionists also organize "world" conferences and congresses of religious representatives in support of their policy and to receive the "blessings" of the Church for their expansionist activities. Thus the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan was also approved by one such Islamic Conference organized in Tashkent. Besides this, the Soviet revisionists have also
set up special religious institution
whose function is to coordinate the ac
tivities of the Soviet clergy and th
clergy from other countries. Accordin
to reports in the Soviet press, "the Ca
tholic Church has undergone an histo
ical change and is fighting for peace'
etc.

DEGENERATION

They also participate in the annu
meetings between "the Marxists an
the Christians". In one such meeting i
Madrid, the Soviet revisionists pr
duced not only the so-called Marxis
from their vassal countries in Europ
but also their own bishop Pitirim.
the press conference after the meetin
the Soviet representatives declare
that they had reached common viev
with the Christians from the West c
many points.

This anti-Marxist stand of the S
viet social-imperialists towards rel
gion and its representatives is part
their all-round degeneration. Th
have harnessed the Church to the
social-imperialist ambitions and use
according to their various internal ar
external political needs.

21/2/26

Extract from "Peoples Voice" Newspaper.

Published at ____, on [date] 5.3.84

SUBJECT: ____

New Soviet boss - same imperialist line

American imperialism is the exploiter and oppressor of people all round the world. Its military bases ring the globe. By fire and steel it tries to put down every threat to its rule as its naked aggresion in Grenada, Lebanon and El Salvador shows.

The Cruise and Pershing missiles being sited in Western Europe are evidence of a more militarist and adventurist line in US foreign policy bringing the danger of world war closer.

But the strident militarism of Reagan and the US leaders finds a ready echo among the Soviet leaders. The Soviet Union stations huge occupation armies in eastern Europe to compel obedience to its dictates. The economies of the Warsaw Pact states of Eastern Europe have been transformed into subsidiary branches of the Soviet economy.

Although Moscow tries to disguise this typical neo-colonialist policy beneath new theories about 'international socialist division of labour the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the more recent pressure on Poland are clear evidence to those who want to see the truth.

ARMS RACE

Now the Soviets are in the middle of an unprecedented arms race with the US in Europe. The Soviets are positioning their SS missiles in an attempt to win a strategic advantage over America in their fierce rivalry for world domination.

Together with third parties, the USSR has resorted to direct military intervention in Angola, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Yemen. The open invasion of Afghanistan marked a further stage in the expansionist march of Soviet imperialism.

Despite the sickening propaganda from its agents around the world, like the Socialist Unity Party here in NZ, it is clear that the USSR is no less a danger to global peace than the US. We cannot oppose one imperialist superpower without opposing the other.

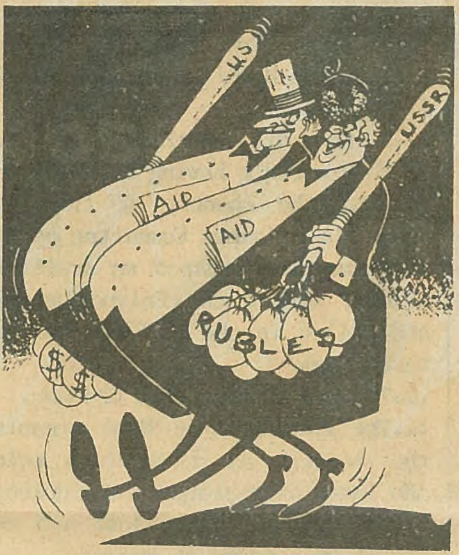
But things were not always so in the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Union was recognised by workers all round the world as a bastion of peace and socialism. A flourishing society based on the maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people was being built under the political leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin was proof that when the working class is guided by Marxist principles then it can lead the whole of society in the successful construction of a new world of peace and plenty.

THE KHRUSHCHEVITES

The rot set in after the death of Stalin when a group of opportunists led by Khrushchev, linked up with the chiefs of the armed forces and seized state power. Their aim was to destroy working class state power, restore capitalism and turn the Soviet Union into an imperialist superpower.

After they had consolidated their positions of power the Khrushchevites openly launched their attack on Marxism. The 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956 was their first public platform. Their lying propaganda about the 'terrible crimes' of Stalin outstripped even the slanders of the capitalist media. In their eyes the real 'crime' of Stalin was that for 30 years he had guided the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. The Communist Party was destroyed as the Marxist vanguard of the Soviet working class. Its sound revolutionary members were purged and jailed. Party bureaucrats and secret police gained complete control and turned the Party into an instrument of the new Soviet ruling class.



All this was done under cover of building a 'party of the entire people' as Khrushchev put it. This denial of the leading role of the working class in all the social changes between capitalism and communism is a common thread in the theories of all revisionists who attack Marxist principles under cover of 'bringing Marxism up to date.'

AFTER ANDROPOV

Andropov, former KGB chief, continued the Khrushchevite policies after the death of Breznev, who had taken over from Khrushchev.

The increasing militarisation of the Soviet economy went hand in hand with Andropov's 'reforms' aimed at tightening workplace discipline, improving productivity, introducing new technology, widening the gap between top and bottom salaries and increasing the independence of factory managers. Similar attacks on the wages and rights of workers are occurring wherever capitalism operates as it slides deeper into crisis.

And now that Andropov is dead, Chernenko cannot do anything except continue on the same road as Khrushchev, Breznev and Andropov. The Soviet system of bureaucratic state capitalism will not tolerate anything else. We can expect to see more internal repression and more imperialist war moves.

It is inevitable that the Soviet workers will again take the path of revolutionary struggle to overthrow their new rulers. Revolution is a practical necessity to abolish imperialism everywhere in the world.

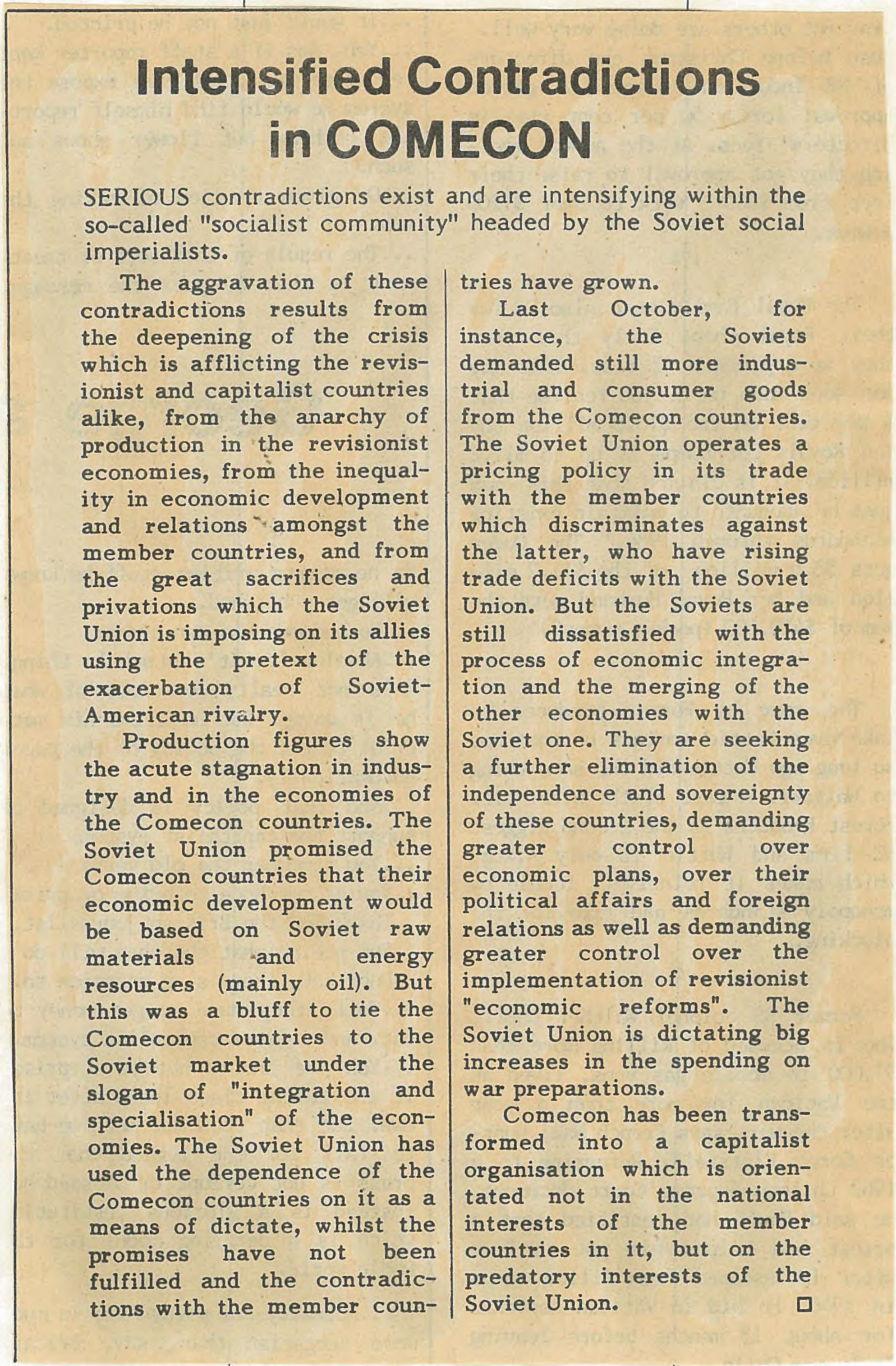
Our main contribution to international working class solidarity here in NZ is to build the Communist Party and defeat the local revisionists so that the cause of socialism is taken a step further.

Hamilton

Extract from "Peoples Voice" Newspaper. 21/2/26

Published at , on [date] 20.2.84

S JECT:



Intensified Contradictions in COMECON

SERIOUS contradictions exist and are intensifying within the so-called "socialist community" headed by the Soviet social imperialists.

The aggravation of these contradictions results from the deepening of the crisis which is afflicting the revisionist and capitalist countries alike, from the anarchy of production in the revisionist economies, from the inequality in economic development and relations amongst the member countries, and from the great sacrifices and privations which the Soviet Union is imposing on its allies using the pretext of the exacerbation of Soviet-American rivalry.

Production figures show the acute stagnation in industry and in the economies of the Comecon countries. The Soviet Union promised the Comecon countries that their economic development would be based on Soviet raw materials and energy resources (mainly oil). But this was a bluff to tie the Comecon countries to the Soviet market under the slogan of "integration and specialisation" of the economies. The Soviet Union has used the dependence of the Comecon countries on it as a means of dictate, whilst the promises have not been fulfilled and the contradictions with the member countries have grown.

Last October, for instance, the Soviets demanded still more industrial and consumer goods from the Comecon countries. The Soviet Union operates a pricing policy in its trade with the member countries which discriminates against the latter, who have rising trade deficits with the Soviet Union. But the Soviets are still dissatisfied with the process of economic integration and the merging of the other economies with the Soviet one. They are seeking a further elimination of the independence and sovereignty of these countries, demanding greater control over economic plans, over their political affairs and foreign relations as well as demanding greater control over the implementation of revisionist "economic reforms". The Soviet Union is dictating big increases in the spending on war preparations.

Comecon has been transformed into a capitalist organisation which is orientated not in the national interests of the member countries in it, but on the predatory interests of the Soviet Union. □

21/2/26

Extract from " Peoples Voice **" Newspaper.**

Published at ______________________, **on [date]** 20.2.84

SUBJECT: ______________________

At the mercy of imports

ZERI i POPULLIT

The Soviet Union is continually increasing its imports of grain and food products, said the Albanian People's Voice (Zeri i Popullit).

Its 1983–84 grain imports were expected to reach about 35 million tons (half the world's grain trade) and under an agreement reached last year US grain sales to the USSR would amount to 30 million tons over three years.

The USSR tries to cover up the agricultural difficulties and food shortages by saying that the 'developed countries' like West Europe, Japan, Canada, Australia and NZ all take part in world trade of food products, having imported more than $18 billion dollars worth.

But this only confirms the fact that the Soviet economy is governed by the economic laws of capitalism complete with the anarchy of production.

Another Soviet argument is that it does not want to dominate in agricultural production but to participate in an 'international division of work in agriculture.'

The truth is that the USSR is reaping what it has sown. It is paying a heavy price for allowing a grave situation to develop in its agriculture which has put it at the mercy of US grain imports.

Soviet grain imports have trebled over the past five years and, as a consequence, the amounts of hard currency needed to cope have also risen. These are covered by the export of Soviet power resources which are badly needed by the Soviet economy.

The Soviet revisionists like to say that while the price of cereals has trebled, the prices of oil and natural gas have risen 7 to 8-fold over the past ten years.

But this once again shows the capitalist nature of the Soviet economy. It is not based on the needs of the people but on the drive for maximum profit in the ups and downs of the world capitalist market.

The cult of profit stands above everything for the new Soviet bourgeoisie, said Zeri i Popullit.

The US business journal 'Across the Board' said the new US-Soviet grain deals showed the two countries 'need each other...these economic links also exercise an influence on the formation of a positive climate in Soviet-American relations.'

The Soviet 'New Times' says 'this idea is correct.'

Zeri i Popullit comments that billions of rubles in hard currency are paid as a guarantee for the agreements and bargainings of the two superpowers at the cost of the vital interests of the people.

21/2/2

21/2/26

Classification ~~SECRET~~

T.S. Copy No.
of copies
Page No.
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INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To HQ/DON[redacted]

From DOSD

File: CH 10/2/1

SUBJECT: CPNZ: National Conference

Date: 19 Dec 83

Reference(s):

Date Stamp
DEC 1983

1. [redacted], Source was able to borrow [redacted] a copy of the draft report from the Central Committee to the party's forthcoming National Conference.

2. The report [dated 1 Dec 83] was copied and is attached for your information. [redacted]

3. The exact date of the conference is still being kept confidential from rank and file members of the CPNZ, but Source has learnt that it will be held over a weekend in Auckland not long after Wed 25 Jan 84. On this date the Chch District of the CPNZ plans to hold a meeting to discuss remits for the conference.

SOURCE: [redacted] ON [redacted]
EVAL: B FROM
Original document sighted
by H.O.

[redacted]

Encl.

[redacted]

[redacted]

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" " 21/7/5
" " 21/7/1

[redacted] (CSB)
30/1/84

Classification

21/2/26

The Conference resolved to carry on the struggle within N.Z. to expo
21/2/26 and isolate the revisionism of the Soviet social imperialists and the
21/2/26 Chinese revisionists and the local revisionist groupings aligned with
each, which in practice serve the interests of imperialism and particula
that of U.S. imperialism.

Soviet revisionism remains the most dangerous form of international revisionism. It still masks its threachery and its imperialist actions behind the glorious banner of the October revolution, and uses the name of Lenin to destroy Leninism. As a super-power it rivals the U.S. as a source of international conflict and as a leading arms merchant. Because it conceals its aggression behind the mask of Leninism and the phoney calls for "peace" and "disarmament", Soviet imperialism is able to mislead some peopl and tries to capitalise on the developing anti-war movement throughout the world.

21/2/26 Its tactic is to elevate the demand for "peace" to the primary demand for the working class and peoples of the world and to present the Soviet Union as the leading force for world peace, so it covers up the real position that it is itself an imperialist power, a threat and menace to world peace. This completely wipes the class struggle of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution as the only ultimate guarantee of world peace. And behind its calls for peace Soviet troops and those of its satellites like Cuba invade other countries and subjugate other peoples.

Soviet imperialism and national chauvinism is concealed behind glib phrases about "international aid" and "limited sovereignty" (of countries under the Soviet umbrella, which is an excuse for military intervention in Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, and Poland if necessary). But regardless of what guise it uses, the facts are that the Soviet working class are wage slaves of the new bourgeoisie in power, and the Soviet economy is a form of state bureaucratic capitalism, and there is no vestige of socialism left. The proletariat have again to make the revolution. It is our task as Marxist-Leninists to continue to tear these disguises off. The deeds of the Soviet imperialists assist this.

21/2/26

Extract from "Peoples Voice" Newspaper.

Published at ______, on [date] 3.10.83

SUPERPOWERS PLAY WARGAMES TOGETHER!

The article below is reproduced from the NZ Herald. It shows how the superpowers can act at the same time in contention and collusion.

The contention springs from the fact that they are both imperialist rivals seeking to expand rather than perish, seeking to dominate and exploit the world for the profit of their ruling classes.

Their collusion springs from their common imperialist practices, from their common efforts to suppress revolutionary movements and liberation movements and from a reluctance to have any other imperialist power join the 'superpower club'.

The contention-collusion situation makes for a very complicated world scene. The economies of the two are linked by trade. And both have similar massive arms industries - so much so that disarmament would disrupt their economies.

Former US President Eisenhower referred to the 'industrial-military complex' - the combination of the big monopolies with their biggest customer, the military machine. Actually this is just another example of state monopoly capitalism.

Nevertheless it is startling to read of the consultations between the brass of the two superpowers, cynically working out the rules for their joint war games.

It is clear that the two superpowers don't give a damn about the rest of the world except as something to agree to fight over and exploit to the maximum for their own advantage.

Each recognises that the other is in the field for the same purpose and this gives them grounds for collusion at the same time as their contention.

It is the people who suffer. It is the people who have the historic task of opposing every act of imperialist exploitation, oppression and aggression. There can be no peace and progress until imperialism is wiped off the face of the earth. Both superpowers are the enemies of the world's people.

Exercise In Pacific Chilling In Its Realism

NZ Herald, Saturday, September 17, 1983

Defence Reporter

It was a scene that would have chilled the blood: Soviet bombers and attack aircraft making runs at a United States Navy aircraft carrier battle group in the Pacific.

It happened recently in the North Pacific when a carrier battle group began surprise manoeuvres near the Aleutian Islands.

But it was really the warm end of the "cold" war between the two most heavily armed nations in the world. No missiles or bombs were launched at the ships and there were no attempts to bring down the Soviet aircraft.

For these were war games of the deadliest kind. They were honest-to-goodness combat situations without the bloodletting.

Too Rigid

It is a situation which Admiral Sylvester Foley, commander-in-chief of the United States Pacific Fleet, acknowledges as having the potential for a mistake — a mistake that could turn things into a full-blown United States-Russian incident.

According to Admiral Foley, such confrontations are occurring as the Americans strive to make the movements of the Pacific Fleet less predictable.

In Auckland yesterday on the last day of his New Zealand visit, Admiral Foley said: "Quite frankly we, in the past, have been too rigid in our operations."

Some movements had become completely predictable and the United States could not afford that, he said.

Off Guard

The battle group exercise in the Aleutians was designed to see if the Navy, with the biggest United States Air Force involvement since the Second World War could handle a Falkland Islands crisis.

The Aleutians are a similar island group and the weather for the three-week exercise was rough and cold. The manoeuvres caught the Russians off guard.

"Their response came in the form of aircraft.

"We had about 90 Soviet aircraft come down about the time we were up there," said Admiral Foley.

Battle Group

Some were reconnaissance aircraft, others simulated anti-ship missile firings from 150 miles away, and bombers flew right over the American battle group in mock bombing runs.

As the Russians practised attacking the battle group, so the American task force practised repelling the attack.

"They provided us with good air service," said the admiral, with a wry smile. "It is very cost-effective to use Soviet aircraft on exercise.

"And all the sophisticated simulation equipment in the world can not duplicate a Soviet bomber riding through the middle of the fleet with one of our fighters riding right behind it."

Precautions

Asked about the possibility of a mistake leading to an international incident, Admiral Foley said: "Clearly, the potential is there.

"We rely on the professionalism of the flight crews and the precautions built into the system."

Both navies had an official agreement to prevent such incidents at sea, he said. Special signals were flown when the two navies were in close proximity.

Aircraft from both sides had to keep to certain rules governing the types of approach they could make to ships and how close they came to their "targets."

Complaints

The rules were set in an annual meeting held in either Moscow or Washington, he said. He had personally led the United States delegation twice. The talks were very constructive and were probably the most enduring and useful contact between the two nations.

To avoid incidents, both sides had to make sure their forces did not "play chicken" with each other. If there were any transgressions, complaints were laid at diplomatic levels.

The admiral said the exercise simulating the Falklands crisis had confirmed the lessons of that war.

Long-range early warning — provided by the United States AWAC aircraft — and long-range air cover were essential, he said.

ce " **Newspaper.**

21/2/26

3.10.83

Further Measures of Soviet Revisionists to Force Burden of Crisis onto Working People

IN A recent speech to senior members of the Soviet revisionist party, Andropov, the Kremlin chieftain, bemoaned the serious and growing crisis of the Soviet economy.

Andropov complained that the economic growth of the Soviet economy is the lowest since the Second World War. Like his counterparts in the West, Andropov did not blame the capitalist system of exploitation, which has been restored in the Soviet Union by the revisionists who seized power after the death of Stalin, for the endemic and irreversible crisis, but blamed the "slow pace" of the "measures" being taken for the improvement of the "efficiency of the economy" and for "intensive development".

Also, like those of his counterparts in the West, the measures which Andropov proposed for "solving" this crisis are precisely measures for the intensified exploitation of the Soviet working class, blaming them for the crisis and shifting it even further onto their backs. Andropov proposed "tightening social order and workplace discipline" which, as in other countries in the capitalist-revisionist world, means stepped-up repression of the Soviet workers and people, and intensified exploitation at work in order to bolster the profits of the Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie.

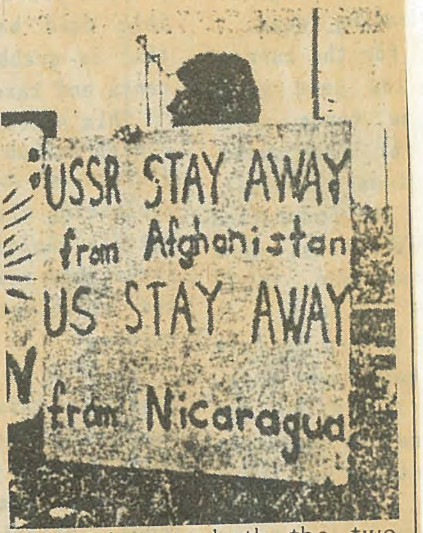
'EFFICIENCY'

The measures also include "finding ways of improving productivity", the "introduction of new technology", the "widening of pay differentials" to reward "efficient workers" and "penalties" to be introduced for factories and workers if "production targets are not met" – all of which, likewise, will result in the increased exploitation of the workers and the increasing denial of their rights.

Indeed the "reforms" being called for by the Soviet bourgeoisie at the present time are aimed at further adoption of overtly capitalist forms in the running and management of the economy. Thus "more independence" is to be given to the capitalist managements of the industrial enterprises in order to accumulate greater profits. Such measures however can only lead to the further intensification of the crisis, as well as to the further intensification of the contradictions within the revisionst bourgeoisie, something which is already manifested in the "inertia and half measures from certain quarters in introducing the reforms", denounced by Andropov in his speech.

CAPITALISM

Andropov came to power during the most profound crisis in the Soviet Union since the restoration of capitalism by the Khrushchevite revisionists after the death of Stalin. The Soviet economy has been transformed into a capitalist economy like those of the countries of classical capitalism in the West. The Soviet economy displays all the features of the crisis which is occurring throughout the capitalist - revisionist world: the uneven development of the various branches of production, anarchy of production, the decline in the rate of production, shortages, and in particular, the militarisation of the economy, which is constantly increasing.



Opposition to both the two superpowers, US and Soviet Union, and their aggression and intervention throughout the world is growing amongst the people.

These features are not the result of "errors" or "shortcomings" in the development of a "socialist economy" as the Soviet revisionists pretend, nor are they a "lurch to the right" with the "adoption of capitalist techniques" as some are describing them, but have their roots in the capitalist economic order which prevails in the Soviet Union, for there is nothing "socialist" about the Soviet Union since the restoration of capitalism. All the measures which the Soviet revisionists propose have as their aim the stepped-up exploitation and oppression of the Soviet working class and people to increase the profits amassed by the revisionist bourgeoisie and, accompanying this, the increasing denial of the rights of the workers and the heading for war in rivalry with the othe superpower, US imperialism. □

21/2/26

Extract from "Peoples Voice" **Newspaper.**

Published at ______, **on [date]** 5-9-83

SU ECT

Corruption and bureaucracy have struck deep roots in the Soviet Union

Almost every day, the Soviet press publishes articles on the corruption and lack of effectiveness in various republics, cities and regions of the Soviet Union and the "weakness" of the Soviet revisionist party in face of such a situation.

The Soviet revisionist press is forced to mention the most flagrant phenomena which can no longer be hidden from public opinion in the Soviet Union. In these cases, the Soviet press points out that the "responsible persons" have been replaced, so as to create the impression that as far as corruption in the country is concerned, it is not an inevitable wound of the capitalist society, but is a matter of a few individuals. For example, the press has written about the party committee of the region of Saratov, but only after a serious railway accident occurred there. Then it was the turn of the party committees of Moldavia, the Ukraine and Lithuania, and now the Baltic republic of Estonia. In a recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Estonia, the first secretary, Karl Vaino, was forced to agree that ;many party officials are incompetent and bureaucratic, that the education of the youth is inadequate and that the so-called experts on social problems are detatched from the daily realities.

The Soviet press also writes on what has been defined as one of the most serious scandals in the Soviet Union concerning the important thermo-nuclear project in Volgodonsk. It has been revealed that the complex in Volgodonsk has been improperly and irresponsibly designed. The local officials "confused their pockets with those of the state". In this case, the Soviet Vice-Premier, Inganit Novikov was dismissed for "lack of capability" after 20 years of running the ministry of construction.

A decree of the leadership of the Soviet revisionist party and government was recently published in the Soviet press. According to the decree, the giant enterprises and industrial groups will be given full authority in manipulation and distribution of production. The leaders of these enterprises will be given more power and independence in defining the objectives and sale of production. As the reports on the basis of this process reveal, the aim is to ensure fatter profits. The intensification of material incentives and various privileges are foreseen in order to encourage this process. This "experiment", as the decree calls it, will come into effect in January next year and will be applied to big enterprises in some branches of the economy.

Such "experiments" are a continuation of the economic reforms applied by the Soviet revisionists to consolidate the capitalist order and the power of the new bourgeoisie.

21/2/11

Extract from "Peoples Voice" Newspaper.

Published at ______, on [date] 22.8.83 21/2/26

SUBJECT:

The international peace movement has never been bigger and involved such a wide cross-section of people. This was shown locally by the big protest actions and ferment during the visit of the US nuclear warship Texas.

The screams from the establishment (see Page 11) when Wellington seamen, watersiders and harbour workers stopped work for the duration of the visit showed how the ruling class fears even limited political action by the working class. And it shows how hard-hitting and effective working class action could be.

The protests play an essential role in slowing down the trends to war, in showing the strength of people's movements and the strong leading role of the working class as it breaks through the legal and ideological barriers that are erected around it.

If correct work is done, the peace movement helps to build the awareness and organisation needed to tackle the cause of war. By itself it can only slow the trend to war and force the politicians and generals to devise new war preparation tactics. And by itself it can be led into false roads.

For instance the pro-Chinese groups in NZ join in the peace movement and push their 'three world theory' of smaller nations winning peace by uniting with the 'least dangerous superpower against the most dangerous one.'

As the clipping on this page shows this ends up supporting US imperialism in its fight to beat Soviet imperialism for the sole right to exploit the world's workers and resources.

And the pro-Soviet groups in NZ, who treat the peace movement as their own property, push for an alliance with Soviet imperialism against US imperialism.

The Communist Party is active in the peace movement to expose the phoney theories and show the cause of war – the rivalry of imperialist

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

powers to carve up the world for exploitation.

It shows how this is the inevitable outcome of the capitalist system where a 'free competitor' must expand (or perish) by beating rivals economically, politically and, if all else fails, militarily.

The only way to bring lasting world peace is to end imperialism. The immediate programme is to fight every act of imperialist interference and aggression and the local reactionaries and misleaders who support them.

Anything else ends up with the people helping one band of imperialist robbers fight for the right to exploit and oppress them. It ends up trying to shelter under the 'nuclear umbrella' of one or the other superpower – and that puts us right in the middle of a nuclear holocaust, still bound in the chains of wage slavery as factory or cannon fodder for the God of Maximum Profits.

The Chinese Premier, Mr Zhao Ziyang, yesterday applauded in glowing terms the initiatives taken by the Prime Minister, Mr Muldoon, towards the reform of the international monetary system.

Mr Zhao said he had been glad to see that New Zealand and China shared similar or identical views on many issues.

He supported the concept of the Anzus treaty.

NZ Herald 16.4.83

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21/2/26
21/2/27

[ITEM 509]

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21/2/26

Extract from "Peoples Voice**" Newspaper.**

Published at ______________, **on [date]** 22-8-83

SU ECT:

What they're not telling you about POLAND

As reported in the People's Voice, the revisionist rulers of China have adopted a policy of deliberately encouraging foreign investment - in spite of the fact that one of the major necessities of the Chinese national democratic revolution was the turfing out of the foreign capitalists who dominated China.

The Chinese revisionists are doing this in spite of the example of what happened to Poland.

The Polish revisionists encouraged the penetration of foreign capital - particularly from the USA. In one case, during the 1970s western firms built many livestock and poultry farms. Longterm agreements were signed under which the US supplied those farms with the necessary fodder.

Then it suited Washington to disrupt the Polish economy. It cancelled n 1981 the $100 million loan needed o buy the feed grains. Almost overight the country was short of 770 illion pounds of meat.

Bombing raids could not have done the job better - more than 4000 'food factories' were starved out of operation. The small, backward farms could not cope and hunger stalked the land resulting in food riots.

At the same time Washington blocked the supply of Polish coal to the Western bloc and the fishing of Polish fleets in Western waters.

Longterm contracts to sell Poland dried milk, vegetable oil and butter were abruptly cancelled. They even stopped the export of fats used for making soap.

Western banks were prompted to refuse further credits and the supply of spare parts for US machinery was stopped.

This is the 'environment' created by US imperialism in which the Vatican was able to stir up trouble which imperialism then used to 'prove' that socialism does not work.

It would have been impossible if there was working class state power through the instrument of a Marxist-Leninist party. But the revisionists, with the support of their Russian social-imperialist masters, set aside Marxist principles and opened the field for imperialism generally.

Now China is on the same course. It should know better, not only because of its experience of Western imperialism before 1949 but because of its experience with Russian imperialism since.

China came to rely on massive aid in its reconstruction from the USSR. But when the revisionists took over in Russia, Khrushchov tried to use the huge Russian involvement to blackmail China into becoming a colony.

When the attempt failed the Russians walked out leaving a litter of half-completed projects.

Imperialism uses its economic penetration ruthlessly to serve its own ends. NZ for example follows the US foreign policy in the hope of being able to sell more meat and attract more investment. So the Government cannot turn away nuclear warships. Captive nations lose their sovereignty under imperialism's neo-colonialism just as surely as under the old style colonialism.

Classification ~~SECRET~~

T.S. Copy No.
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21/2/26

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM To HQ From DOND

File: 21/2/5

SUBJECT: CPNZ : NATIONAL SECRETARIAT

Date 26 July 1983

Reference(s):

Date Stamp
RECEIVED
29 JUL 1983
By

The attached leaflet was picked up by source at the Auckland Unemployed Workers' Rights Centre.

Source: [redacted]

Eval: B

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Encl:

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Copy att to 21/2/26
" " " 21/2/27.

[redacted] (COIG)
2 8 83

Classification ~~SECRET~~

AFGHANISTAN WAR DANGER SHOWS NEED FOR UNITED FRONT AGAINST ALL IMPERIALISM

The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is a clear-cut case of imperialist aggression and expansionism. It has nothing to do with Communism which the Soviet leaders betrayed 20 years ago.

Nor does the US opposition to the Soviet move have anything to do with human rights or national independence. It is based on the fact that the Soviet invasion cuts right across the plans of US imperialism to control the whole strategic, oil-rich Gulf area.

Every day sees the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR, move closer to direct war as they contend with each other for new lands to dominate and exploit.

It is a confrontation that is already involving New Zealand politically and economically. It could see New Zealand involved in World War III.

The Communist Party of New Zealand is the only political party pointing out that there is no future for the majority of the people in taking sides with either of these robber powers as they fight for the right to be the main exploiter of the world's resources and peoples.

The only path to world peace and prosperity is to break through the smokescreen of deception and lies that serve the ruling class and to build a united front against all imperialist powers and against every act of imperialist interference, expansion and aggression wherever it occurs.

The line of the Communist Party is the only stand that serves the interests of the vast majority against the exploitation by the imperialists and their hangers-on like the Muldoon Government who sell out to US imperialism. This applies to all other

political parties and groupings who take sides with one imperialist alliance against another.

Falling into one of these groupings are those who push the line of the new Chinese leaders for a united front with US imperialism against what they call "the most dangerous enemy."

This is deceptive and dangerous because it is designed to fan the flames of war between the two superpowers so China can emerge unscathed to pick up the pieces as top superpower.

It is also dangerous because it helps strengthen the hand of hide-bound reactionaries like Muldoon and all that he stands for — the continued bullying of the ordinary people so big local and foreign investors can harvest bigger profits by plundering New Zealand's natural resources and the working people of town and country.

Immediately it means that the Chinese leaders and all who follow their line are actively helping US imperialism and all it stands for.

In clear contrast, the Communist Party upholds the working class principles which serve the overall interests of the ordinary people everywhere because those principles oppose all exploitation, oppression and aggression:—

— Break off any alignment with any imperialist power

— Resist every act of imperialist interference and aggression

— Sweep aside every form of opportunist sell-out policy

— Support the just struggles of the peoples everywhere

Read the

PEOPLE'S VOICE

The paper that consistently fights for the majority of the people against imperialism and its NZ yes-men.

Every week — from regular People's Voice sellers, from progressive bookshops in the main cities or from P.O. Box 8851, Auckland.

Published by the National Secretariat, Communist Party of N.Z.

21/2/26

Extract from "Peoples Voice" **Newspaper.**

Published at Auckland, **on [date]** 18 Apl 83

SUBJECT:

Deepening of the economic crisis in the Soviet Union

According to an official communique recently released by the Soviet news agency TASS, a number of sectors and branches of the Soviet economy did not realize the planned objectives of last year. Some data published in the newspaper *Pravda* show that last year there was a considerable fall of production in a number of main articles. For example, oil extraction and processing fell by 2 percent from 1981 levels, the production of cement was 2 percent less, steel production was reduced by 2 million tons, etc. A fall of production was also registered in a number of steel products and in the chemical industry. The situation in transportation equipment manufacturing is becoming worse. Failures have also been recorded in the production of industrial goods and foodstuffs, such as meat, milk, knitwear, shoes, cooking oil, etc.

The press and the top Moscow officials also admit the further deterioration of agriculture. The level of production of some main agricultural and livestock products is comparable to that of 10-15 years ago. The last agricultural year, according to the report, closed with a deficit of nearly 60 million tons in grain production, and this was the fourth straight year for such a fall. Such a grave crisis cannot be covered up with the worn-out justification of "bad weather".

WORKERS SUFFER

While the economic difficulties deepen, the new Soviet bourgeoisie is increasingly shifting the burden onto the shoulders of the working masses. The market is considerably short of mass consumer goods and it is reported that the rationing system has been put into effect for some main articles in a number of regions. The shortages of foodstuff and agricultural goods are considered as the most critical during these last 10 years. The demagogical "programmes", loudly proclaimed by the Moscow revisionist leadership, have brought no improvement in this field. On the contrary, they serve to disguise the attacks on the standard of living of the working people, the overt and covert price rises such as the 30 percent price rise for mass consumer goods at the beginning of this year. These price rises and the very high prices in the black market, which flourishes in the conditions of the chronic shortage of goods, are making the lives of the Soviet working people, like the working people of all the capitalist-revisionist countries, ever more difficult.

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21/2/26

Classification ~~SECRET~~

T.S. Copy No.
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INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM To HQ From DOND

File: 21/3/2

SUBJECT: CPNZ : ACTIVITY IN TRADE UNIONS

Date: 8 April 1983

Reference(s):

Date Stamp
RECEIVED
12 APR 1983

.. The attached CPNZ leaflet was handed out at a recent Auckland Trades Council meeting by William James LEE (PF). ✓

Source: [redacted]

Eval: B

Access: Source present.

COPY ON [redacted]
COPY FROM

[redacted]

[redacted]

Encl:

CS2 [redacted] 13/4

CS [redacted]
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R/ Poe file + att on 21/3/2.
Copy + copy att to PF William J LEE.
" to 40/1/2.
" + copy att to 21/2/33.
" + " " to 21/2/26
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[redacted] (S.B)
14 4.83

Classification ~~SECRET~~

BRING OUT THE REAL ISSUE !
WORKERS UNITE AGAINST CAPITAL

Massive redundancies are increasing as the economic system continues to decay and fall apart. In New Zealand, as elsewhere, big monopolies like Ceramco, Fletcher Challenge, Pye etc are throwing workers out of work in the hundreds in the drive for maximum profits.

Basic human rights of work, decent housing, health care etc are being denied to hundreds of thousands of New Zealand working people. The living standards of those still employed are continuing to drop.

The crisis is affecting the entire capitalist world (including the countries of the Soviet bloc and China, where the principles of socialism have been abandoned and the name of "socialism" is now used to disguise forms of state capitalism). In all fields of life the capitalist class are on the attack against workers, in their drive to place the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the workers to ensure the ever increasing profits of the monopolies.

The prospects for the future under this system are deepening crisis. The increasing unemployment world-wide means fewer markets, more stockpiles and more lay-offs. While the world's people starve millions of tonnes of food are stockpiled. Workers are asked to contribute to relief aid schemes. But their is documented evidence that there is no country in the world which could not sustain its own people. What prevents this? The private ownership and increasing monopoly control of food resources and the markets. If you cannot pay for it you cannot have it.

Added to this is the revolutionary developments in technology, which should make the labour of workers easier; but under this system, where a minority class of exploiters own the means of production and uses them for its own private greed, this technology is a threat to the livelihood of thousands of workers.

These are the realities which the trade union bureaucrats and trade union politics cannot face up to. These realities call for a revolutionary working class outlook, one that sees beyond this decaying system. Once this is understood then it is important that workers break with old forms and methods of struggle which have proved inadequate and to build a united revolutionary movement based on sound working class principles and for real working class objectives.

The role of the Trade Union bureaucrats and their trade union bedfellows in the thoroughly capitalist Labour Party and Labour Party ginger groups, such as the S.U.P., is to adapt the workers to the crisis conditions of capitalism. The Trade Union leadership is completely ruled and regulated by the capitalist state. Working within the rules and regulations of capital means that they are absolutely hopeless when it comes to such attacks as the wage freeze. But they cover this up with pretences of protest which divert attention from the real causes, let off steam and push the Labour Party as an "alternative".

Creating illusions and conducting isolated token struggles are no answer to the attacks of the system. This is just using workers. The only course which will lead to positive development lies in taking up a revolutionary outlook and seeing the need for revolutionary change.

UNITY AS A CLASS !

The crisis is caused by the capitalist system itself, which prevents the vast productive ability of the working class from being used to raise the conditions and wellbeing of the working people generally. Therefore the only real solution to the problems of workers lies not in reforms but in the overthrow of the rule of capital and the building of a socialist society.

This is the long term objective of workers of all countries. The immediate need is to take up the struggle in a way that builds the class unity that will defeat capitalism. Workers have the ability to organise themselves without the bluggers, self-seekers and big-shots, who use the workers movement to carve out personal careers and try to hold back struggle. When necessary workers can and do throw up their own leaders who will lead them in battle.

Calls for"unity"for the sake of it (or to head off militancy) are just smoke-screens for bureaucrats. Real class unity is built in the struggle to defend jobs, housing and living standards from the attacks of the class enemy and in recognising that the interests of the exploiters and the exploited are completely opposed.

Capitalism does not serve the workers, it is not the workers system and workers have everything to gain and nothing to lose by its defeat. Join with the Communist Party of New Zealand in building the revolutionary movement which will bring about the victory of the working class and lay the path forward out of this crisis ridden system.

THIS IS THE STAND OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN DEVELOPING THE UNITY OF THE CLASS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE OVER-ALL LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS.

Workers of the world unite! We have nothing to lose but our chains.

For a deeper understanding of this task, buy and read the PEOPLE'S VOICE. Available from Boc 8851 Auckland. Price .25c or $10 per year.

March 1983. Auckland District Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand. Ph.799371.

Extract from "Peoples Voice" Newspaper.

Published at ______, on [date] 25-5-81

SUBJECT: 21/2/26

Further down the capitalist path in the Soviet Union

On February 23 this year at the opening of the 26th Congress of the revisionist "communist" party of the Soviet Union, Brezhnev delivered a long report outlining the foreign and domestic line of this party of the revisionist ruling class. It shows that the Soviet Union is in the grip of an economic slump and that it is an imperialist power equally as aggressive as the United States in its attempts to dominate the entire world for its own ends.

Although calling for "peace", etc., the speech reflected the fundamentally aggressive and counter-revolutionary social-imperialist strategy of the Soviet superpower on a world scale.

It also demonstrated the failures of the revisionist policy internally, beset by steadily worsening economic, political and ideological crises.

The speech exposed once more the bankruptcy of modern revisionism, which came to power in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin and especially with the 26th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, and which transformed the world's first socialist state into the revisionist, social-imperialist superpower it is today.

Brezhnev began his speech by declaring the Soviet Union and its allies to be "the chief buttress of world peace". The whole world can see that the Warsaw Pact, just like NATO, is an aggressive military alliance which is continually arming itself, that NATO and the Warsaw Pact are the chief instruments of the superpowers, and their sharpening rivalry is leading the world towards devastating war.

Furthermore, it is well known that the Kremlin ordered the aggression against Czechslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1979. Hence this opening remark of Brezhnev was sheer fraud.

Expanding on the same theme, he made calls for "confidence-building measures" in Europe, such as each superpower giving advance notice of troop movements, and also mentioned the need for "arms restraint".

But he stressed that the Soviet military build-up would continue, so as not to give "unilateral advantage" to the USA.

Thus the arms race of the superpowers would continue to escalate as the rivalry for markets, spheres of influence and raw material sources intensifies, while the superpowers will continue to move their forces about Europe, gravely threatening the peoples of this continent.

At the same time, prominent in Brezhnev's speech was the call for the maintenance of the status quo, with slogans for the "reduction of tension" and so forth.

To this end, Brezhnev proposed a special meeting of the UN Security Council where top leaders of the imperialist and social-imperialist powers would allegedly collaborate in the "reduction of tension".

But this is a mere game, since it is precisely these powers which have a vested interest in, and are preparing for war.

But the collaboration Brezhnev proposed had other implications as well. Speaking of "flashpoints of military conflict" and the fact that "it is not easy to extinguish them", he called for preventive measures to forestall them.

Rather than the local wars which the imperialists and social imperialists themselves incite between states, so as to increase their domination, Brezhnev was here referring especially to the revolutionary outbursts of the peoples such as in Iran, which both superpowers are interested in suppressing.

Referring to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, Brezhnev declared that the Moscow revisionists were prepared to have talks on the issue with the other imperialists, but on condition that "Afghanistan's sovereignty, its non-aligned status, must be fully protected".

This statement — at a time when 80,000 Soviet troops are in that country trying to put down the people's revolt clearly shows how the "peace" of Brezhnev is a mask of imperialist aggression.

Similarly in the case of Poland, he reiterated the Soviet stand of "sticking up" for "socialist" Poland "in its hour of need".

By this is meant the ever--present threat of Russian tanks rolling through the streets of Warsaw both to suppress the Polish people and to halt the drift into the western imperialist orbit.

Overall, the foreign policy line presented by Brezhnev showed that Soviet social imperialism has no intention of halting its expansionist, aggressive and counter-revolutionary activity, despite the calls for maintenance of the status quo, the rationalisation of the arms race, etc.

Turning to domestic issues, Brezhnev was forced to admit the grave crisis that has gripped the revisionist economy. Plans had "remained unfulfilled year after year", and he blamed the shortages on "poor management".

But this is not the cause; just as in the western capitalist countries, countries, crisis is the fellow-traveller of the capitali system which prevails there. An while making various false promise of an increase in the supply c consumer goods and meat, Brezh nev presented the same capitali policy of shifting the burden of th crisis on to the backs of the peop through "tough new penalties . . better discipline . . . and impo controls".

The ideological crisis of t revisionist regime was also admit when Brezhnev called for "ma political work" to deal with t grave social problems resulti from the crisis.

But no amount of propagan can hide the fact that capitalis exists in the Soviet Union, that is an imperialist power, that it as aggressive as the United Stat in seeking to dominate the enti world for its own ends.

[ITEM 509]

58943C—650 pads/2/75D

Extract from "Peoples Voice" Newspaper.

Published at ______, on [date] 16.3.81

S JECT: 21/2/26

Soviet imperialism exposed as enemy of world's people

The leaders of the Soviet Union reveal clearly that they are outright imperialists and enemies of the working people of the world.

A full page advertisement in the Auckland Star on February 28 was utilised by their embassy to publicise a summary of the report of the so-called "Communist Party" of the Soviet Union Central Committee report to their 26th congress.

Although they no doubt thought that they would confuse people's understanding of the issues confronting the world today with their emphasis on their so-called approach to world peace, the report in actual fact sets out clearly their infamy as traitors to the cause of the international working class.

Let's look at this outright treachery and then it becomes much easier to see through the deception in their other statements as to being "builders of socialism".

We quote verbatum from their report, asking that you particularly note the sentences emphasised in bold print.

"A war danger does exist for the United States as it does for all the other countries of the world. But it originates not from the Soviet Union, not from any mythical Soviet superiority, but from the arms race **and from the tension that still obtains in the world. We are prepared to combat this true and not imaginary danger hand in hand with the United States, with the countries of Europe, with all countries in the world."**

What in reality are these tensions that remain in the world that they speak about as being separate and apart from the tensions brought about by their rivalry with the United States?

These tensions are in fact all the result of imperialist exploitation which has assumed mammoth proportions inside the leading imperialist countries and wherever their tentacles reach to be aided by their stooges in the local capitalist class.

Imperialism has only one approach to removing the tensions it creates. That is to set out to crush all resistance of people to their exploitation.

Wherever imperialism reaches out to gather for its profit the resources of other countries, it does this with the ready assistance of the local capitalist class who share in the loot. It does this through blackmailing local Governments into submission, and right up to and including military assistance and the use of its own armed forces.

We have seen the United States do this in the South American states in particular, where it supports outright fascist regimes — notably in Chile and at present in El Salvador. It assists all corrupt regimes against the people as it did the Shah of Iran, Marcos of the Philippines, South Korea and Indonesia to name but a few.

What does working **hand in hand** with imperialism to reduce tensions mean but to subjugate the working people.

To promote its imperialist interests in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union is trying to crush the ordinary people. The Soviet Union has not acted any differently in New Zealand to Japanese imperialism in its fishing ventures which conflict sharply with the livelihood of New Zealand fishermen.

If the Soviet Union was a socialist country (and it is not) it would be stating clearly the real causes of the crisis of capitalist society. It would not be suggesting that the tensions between the exploiters and those exploited be eased, but would be calling on the world's people to struggle to end their exploitation as the only way to achieve world peace.

Of course, in such a position the Auckland Star would not have published their report.

Those who support the line of the Soviet Union are clearly not friends of the working class. They cannot be so if they support the practice of Brezhnev and Co, no matter what claims they make to be fighting the boss class.

Remember that both Hitler and Mussolini confused many of the working class initially by claiming to be socialists of a particular brand.

How can the leaders of the Socialist Unity Party claim to be genuinely on the side of the workers when they support the traitorous role of the CPSU?

There is only one way forward to socialism and the end to all exploitation. It is the road sign-

CLASSIFICATION: ~~SECRET~~

21/2/5

21/2/26 —

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No. of copies
(T.S. only)

From DOA
Our File: 21/2/5 of
To HQ
Date 18 November 1977
Your File: of

SUBJECT: CPNZ : NATIONAL SECRETARIAT

1. On 4 October 1977 a meeting was held at 27 Crummer Road, Auckland and included in those present were:

Harold W. CROOK
Cyril J. GOULD (arrived mid-meeting for "Communist Review" discussions)
Rex C. HOLLISS
Esther R. HUSBAND
Raphael NUNES
Richard C. WOLF
: all PF

SIS Bill:

2. NUNES mentioned briefly that a pamphlet was being drafted and that it would be finished shortly.

Wellington Activities:

3. CROOK reported on a recent visit to Wellington he had made to attend a function held there (source gathered it was a Chinese "do").

The function had taken place on a Thursday evening and CROOK said that both James WONG (PF) from the China Society and John R. RAE (ir) attended.

Alex NGAN (ir):

4. CROOK said he had spoken to NGAN, who had told him that he no longer kept secret his affiliations with the Party. NGAN also told CROOK that he had not done any more about his naturalisation. According to CROOK, NGAN was upset by rumours that he had been expelled from the CPNZ. CROOK said that as far as the Centre was concerned NGAN was still regarded as a Party member, and he told NGAN this.

Commenting further, CROOK remarked that it was difficult for NGAN at present because he was isolated from the Branch, but there was little point at present in putting him back into the Branch.

Comment: Source was not able to establish why NGAN was isolated from the Branch.

Victor G. WILCOX (PF):

5. CROOK said while in Wellington he was again asked if Alex REITCH (phonetic) could stay with WILCOX while visiting Auckland. CROOK had said firmly that it was "not on". (see our 21/2/5 of 19 July 1977, para. 2.)

Selwyn M. DEVEREUX (ir):

6. Still commenting on his visit to Wellington, CROOK said that DEVEREUX, contrary to his past opinions, was now following the line as layed down in the PV. CROOK went on to say that the Branch's view differed from DEVEREUX's and

.../2

CLASSIFICATION: ~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

because of this a rift had formed between DEVAREUX and the rest of the Branch.

Ann P. WILSON (ir):

7. According to CROOK WILSON had accepted the suggestion set out in the letter the Centre had sent her, although she had not yet tendered her letter of resignation. CROOK said she would be shifting out to Porirua to live and work, and had asked for assistance from the comrades she knew to aid her rethinking. It was intended that the Branch draw her into active work and judge her accordingly.

[redacted]

"Communist Review":

9. There was a prolonged discussion on this paper and what form it should take. Although no decision was reached, the main argument was whether the paper should be a vehicle for the Party line or a platform for individual views.

Comment: HUSBAND and HOLLISS were not present for this discussion.

Party Policy : Imperialism:

10. There was a protracted argument between the remaining personalities over what form of imperialism the Party should condone, if any. GOULD maintained that if the Party came out too strongly against Soviet imperialism and failed to criticise the other forms (American, British and French) then this may be seen as condoning the latter. He suggested that the other members present were in fact endorsing American imperialism by their preoccupation with Soviet imperialism. NUNES's argument in conclusion was that even Lenin called for support of the oppressed countries in their struggle against imperialism in spite of the fact that in a lot of cases the aforementioned struggles were being led by the bourgeosie.

Brendon F. WRIGHT (PF):

11. The meeting closed after this discussion but before the members dispersed CROOK was heard to ask GOULD for "Brendon's" address on the Shore. The following address was proffered by GOULD:

4 The Terrace, Takapuna.

Comment: A Power Board check established that B. WRIGHT had been the consumer at that address since 16.2.77.

GOULD also mentioned that Brendon lived next door to "Brian", but inquiries have not established "Brian's" identity.

Source: [redacted]
Eval: B2

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

(... was asked [illegible] for assistance, with the same result!)

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Ref 21/2/5 [illegible] marked

Copies: HQ x 3
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23/1/78 CS/RO

~~SECRET~~ 21/2/26

PF

18 April 1979

George E. JACKSON (PF)

1. During a recent conversation with V.G.WILCOX (PF) source raised JACKSON's name, saying that he had never fully understood why JACKSON came out so strongly in opposition to the Party Collective at the time of the 1963 Triennial Conference. Source qualified his statement by saying that before the Sino-Soviet Dispute became a major ideological issue within the CPNZ, JACKSON appeared to him to be a well-intentioned comrade, well liked and respected as Party Chairman.

2. WILCOX replied that JACKSON had always been a weak vacillating man, who had contributed little to the CPNZ. The formation of the SUP in the mid 1960s, was under the guidance of the revisionist CP of Australia, who were acting with CPSU support and finance. Source concurred, saying that his views were that the SUP was so small numerically that it could not possibly succeed without a source of income, and quite obviously the Soviets were this source, and probably were active behind the scenes to ensure that the SUP was formed.

3. WILCOX explained that the Soviets had offered to support the CPNZ in 1960/61, and even earlier WILCOX himself had been offered personal cash resources to help educate his children and to "look after his household affairs". WILCOX mused that the offer indicated to him that the Soviets were aware of the fact that his farmlet was uneconomic and was, at the time, his sole source of income. WILCOX went on to say that the offer was made by a Soviet who claimed to be visiting NZ at the time, but he could not be absolutely sure of the date when he met this Soviet in Auckland. He thinks it was around 1960. WILCOX allegedly considered the offer, but made it clear to source that he refused it. WILCOX stated that he had mentioned this point to illustrate how keen the Soviets were to win the support of the CPNZ when the differences between China and the Soviet Union were becoming internationally known. Furthermore, if the Soviets were prepared to offer the General Secretary of the Party money, he has no doubts that similar overtures were made to other Party cadres. He is sure that Mervyn Haley WILLIAMS was offered cash but refused it, and furthermore he strongly suspects that George JACKSON was on the list, and it is very probable that JACKSON accepted it. JACKSON had in fact borrowed money from the Party to expand his orchards in Avondale, but even when he sold the land to Beazley Homes, he never repaid the loan.

4. WILCOX was quite adamant that the Soviet party had intentionally bribed individual cadres to influence their policy stand and ideological viewpoint, and that they would have learnt their lesson, not only through the refusal of WILCOX and WILLIAMS to accept a bribe, but in the way in which the Party "unanimously" adopted the ideological viewpoint of Peking at the time of the Triennial Conference in 1963.

5. To sum up, WILCOX contended that in all probability JACKSON accepted a financial offer from the Soviets, and having done so, it influenced his attitudes when it came to the Collective deciding on which political path to proceed.

2./...

6. WILCOX said that to understand JACKSON's weaknesses one has to go back in history. JACKSON was not WILCOX' choice as Party Chairman, and in WILCOX' view, he was no loss to the Party when he openly avowed the revisionist line in 1963/64, and eventually was expelled.

7. In 1949, when Sid SCOTT, although physically and mentally incapacitated, clung to the Party General Secretaryship, it was decided by senior cadres to force the issue, and have SCOTT state when he planned to stand down, and hand over the reins to his nominated successor and Assistant General Secretary, WILCOX. Tom STANLEY, Joyce EWEN's late father; Bill McARA; Merv WILLIAMS; Alex DREENAN, Bruce SKILTON, Sid SCOTT and WILCOX met together on One Tree Hill in Auckland. This was a secret meeting and was called together with the expressed intention to demand that SCOTT retire, from his leadership of the party. WILCOX described this meeting as acrimonious, but the majority turned against SCOTT and named WILCOX to succeed him forthwith. WILCOX' position was later confirmed at a Special Conference held in the wake of the Waterfront Dispute in which the CPNZ had fared disastrously.

> COMMENT: It is recorded that a Special Conference of the Party was held in Auckland in July 1951.

8. Having settled the General Secretary question, the cadres then attempted to name a Party Chairman. The majority, including WILCOX and McARA, called upon WILLIAMS to assume the position but WILLIAMS declined to accept and in turn proposed JACKSON. Far from being a popular choice, JACKSON was, after much deliberation, formally nominated and was confirmed in that position at the Special 1951 Conference.

> COMMENT: Although WILCOX did not specify the date of the meeting on One Tree Hill, it seems evident that it took place in late 1949, or during 1950, or in fact at the time of the Waterfront Dispute in 1951. Source found it difficult to clarify dates when talking with WILCOX.

9. WILCOX vehemently claimed to source that in his view WILLIAMS made a gross error in picking JACKSON, who soon proved to be a weak link in an otherwise strong Collective. When JACKSON finally left the Party in 1965, WILLIAMS assumed the position of Chairman and later claimed to WILCOX that he wished he had never nominated JACKSON.

10. As to JACKSON's performance on the Secretariat, which as WILCOX admitted proudly to source virtually became the self-elected body at successive conferences, it was soon clear to the Secretariat that JACKSON was politically "unpredictable". There was a standing arrangement within the Secretariat that before each Secretariat meeting WILCOX should spend ½ hour with JACKSON, going over the agenda to ensure unanimity, e.g. getting JACKSON's support on all issues.

11. In November 1960, WILCOX said it was during the course of the election campaign, he and JACKSON were unexpectedly called to Moscow to attend the 81 ~~st Congress of the CPSU~~ Parties Congress Moscow. On this occasion, WILCOX was in a hurry to return to NZ as he was a parliamentary candidate, and in his view the Soviets deliberately delayed WILCOX speaking during the Committee stages of the Soviet Congress. WILCOX claimed that had it not been for Jack GOLLAN of the CPGB, irrespective of the fact that GOLLAN was not in sympathy with WILCOX' political line, WILCOX would not have had an opportunity to give his address. In fact, privately, GOLLAN told WILCOX quite clearly that he was opposed to WILCOX' political support of Peking. WILCOX gave his address, which was listened to in silence. Following the address, WILCOX went to the Circus in company with a Soviet who was shortly to be named the Ambassador (sic Minister) to NZ, namely Borit DOROFEEV. The day after the Circus event, WILCOX travelled back

C

11. (cont'd):

to New Zealand but JACKSON, although also a parliamentary candidate in an Auckland electorate, delayed his departure. WILCOX believes that it was at this point that the Soviets, Boris DOROFEEV in particular, did some hard talking with George JACKSON.

12. In the following year, 1961, JACKSON went to Moscow alone, and according to WILCOX, it was following JACKSON's return that JACKSON displayed an ideological shift against the then decision of the CPNZ Collective to follow Peking. WILCOX claimed that there was no secret about the CPNZ ideological shift to Peking as by this time he had published a paper on the "81st Congress" ~~of the [illegible]~~.

13. In 1962 WILCOX went to a Central Committee Meeting of the Communist Party of Australia, where he was clearly an unpopular delegate. He claimed that his address was received in silence by Conference, and after the event he received none of the normal courtesies which he could expect as a General Secretary of a fraternal party. He amplified this by saying he had to make his own way to the Airport.

14. At the crucial 1963 Conference of the CPNZ, JACKSON spent much of his time with the visiting high-powered Soviet delegation, and although he behaved himself during the course of the Conference, itself, it was evident to the majority of the Secretariat and Political Committee that JACKSON was strongly opposed to the Party's ideological line. He made life very difficult during the next few months, during which time he was suspected of meeting with Australian Party officials. Boris DOROFEEV himself, WILCOX believed, was now in NZ, and possibly had a part to play. It came as no surprise to WILCOX when JACKSON finally resigned, as it had been the intention of the Collective to expel him had he not done so.

SOURCE: [redacted]

Eval: F.3

[redacted]

R.File
Copies: PF V.G.WILCOX
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spares Copies to 21/2/22
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DSA
PF DOROFEEV, BY

Copy: 21/2/26
Original on: P.F.
HOLLISS, R.C.

~~SECRET~~

DOA

PF

HQ

25 February 1975

Rex Chell HOLLISS

1. Source had occasion to meet HOLLISS privately in early February 1975.

2. Outside the Party atmosphere HOLLISS seemed more sophisticated than usual and completely unlike a Party official. He always dressed better than any other Party member but on this occasion the clothes seemed more bourgeois than usual.

3. HOLLISS had been to China in 1961 and in 1965 and had once visited the Soviet Union. The latter visit was as the guest of PRAVDA and he described this as exciting. He related a rather rambling story about a newspaper article that claimed he was a Security agent turned Communist. This article had appeared in a Hong Kong newspaper, had originated in Manila and was later reprinted in "NZ Truth". He claimed that he disregarded the article as he knew there was no truth in it.

4. He went from China to the Soviet Union and arrived in Moscow at 1am. He was immediately asked to dinner and then taken for a drive arriving back at the hotel at 4am. He thought nothing of this at the time but later realised that the Soviets must have used the occasion to search his luggage as something he had written in his diary was repeated by one of the interpreters. He was the only person on the 4th floor of his hotel and felt that the KGB were watching him closely. Later, in Latvia, he met a very easy going young man apparently by chance but he felt he had been put there by the Soviets to check on him.

5. HOLLISS claimed that he had prior knowledge of the dispute between India and China because of troop movements and of careful questions he had put to the Russians. He was confident that the Russians were unaware of his knowledge. When he returned to China he informed the correct authorities of this and they were pleased as it confirmed their own suspicions.

6. HOLLISS was guarded when talking about the CPNZ and really said little. He found his political work a heavy responsibility and his health was not good.

Source: [redacted]

Eval: Para 2 - B1
Para 3 - B1
Paras 4-5 - B3

[redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

21/2/20

~~SECRET~~

DOA PF

HQ 23 December 1974

Lillian Rita SMITH

1. On 20 December 1974 SMITH told source that she was sent to Moscow in 1959 for discussions with the Soviets about the recruitment of people in New Zealand for training in the Soviet Union. She said she now realises that the policy of sending people to the Soviet Union for training was wrong but that was the way things were done then.

2. She also spoke of a second visit to the Soviet Union. Source thinks it was after 1959. She was in Peking with Victor George WILCOX (PF) and Harold Alexander OSTLER (PF). In SMITH's words OSTLER kept pestering her to go on to Moscow from there because he wanted her to go to the Polish Embassy in Moscow to discuss the tour of New Zealand of a Polish hockey team. She said the Soviets did not treat her well and did not co-operate with her. The Secretaries of the Australian, British and Canadian Parties were there at the same time and in comparison with them she was almost ignored. At the end of the stay the Soviets refused to pay her fare back to Peking where some of her luggage was. They wanted her to take another route. However she did go to Peking paying her own fare.

3. She also mentioned that Ralph Garven HEGMAN (PF) went to Moscow in 1959 for what she called "higher education".

4. SMITH said she would be coming back from Australia on 5 March 1975. Her visit to Australia was purely a holiday and that she would not be visiting any "political people" in Australia, adding that the Party gets little information from Australia.

5. SMITH also said that she had arranged for Richard Charles WOLF (PF) to contact her in Australia in case of trouble.

Source: [redacted]

Eval: B2

[redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

G.D.D. 11

For File 21/2/26

EXTRACT/~~COPY~~

From: [redacted] Reference: Date: 30 Oct 74

Original on (PF) SAZANOV

Extracted/~~Copied~~ by [redacted] on 27 Feb 76

NOTE FOR FILE:

...

1.. At Moscow Airport, I was paged on landing by a very large man who was to be my escort: Vladimir SAZANOV, who later at my request, gave me his full title: "Senior Editor, American Service, "Novosti" Press Agency (New Zealand Desk), 2 Pushkin Square, Moscow". ...

...

19. He pleaded - that is the word - for any published material in the papers or magazines about zones of collective security and participation in blocs, and about the NZ communist party.

...

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

MINUTE SHEET

Department:

Subject: CPNZ. Relations with CPSU.

File No. 21/2/26

Date: 11 10. 74

To—

CS [redacted]

The attached was acquired recently. I believe we have another copy which was supplied by Source [redacted] 18 months or so ago. However the attached copy could go to the library.

Source [redacted]

[redacted]

CSI [redacted] 23/10/74 CSI

Lib. accessioned & shelved 23/10/74

R [redacted] file

Item 504

24095A—70,000 pads/2/73D

~~SECRET~~

For File 21/2/26

EXTRACT/COPY

From: DOA Reference: AK/10/66 Date: 4.9.1974

Original on 21/4/54

Extracted/Copied by [redacted] on 12.9.1974

CPNZ : MT WELLINGTON-TAMAKI BRANCH

1. A meeting was held at 4 Gollan Road on Tuesday evening, 3 September 1974. Present were:

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Discussion Topic

16. McNAUGHTON spoke from 4 pages of notes of the reasons Russia is no longer a socialist state but has become revisionist and is moving to fascism.

Source: [redacted]

B.2

[redacted]

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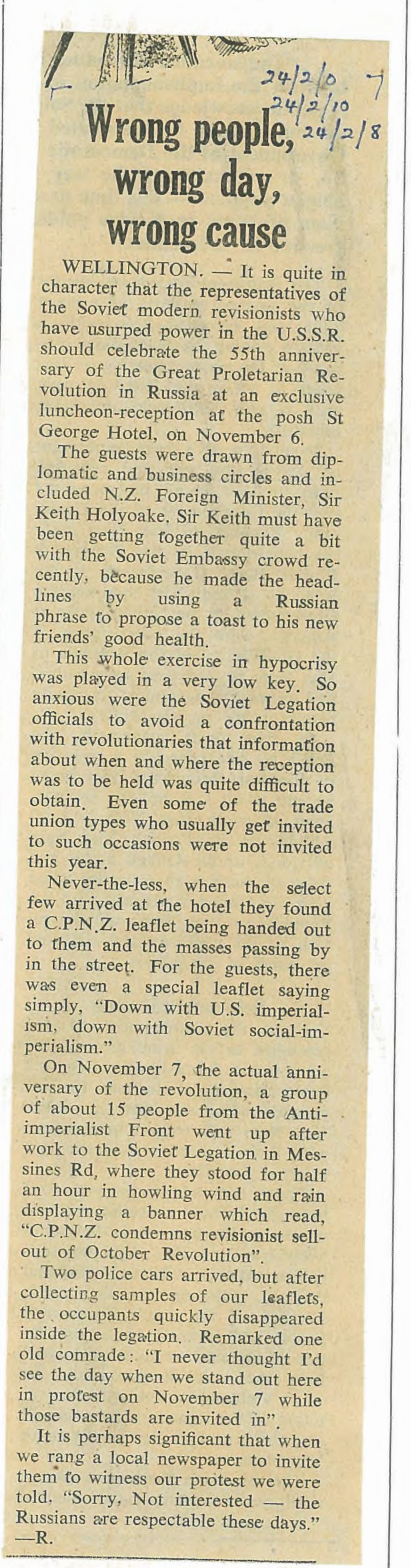
21/2/26

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE" **Newspaper.**

Published at Auckland, **on [date]** 15 November 1972

SUBJECT:



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Wrong people, wrong day, wrong cause

WELLINGTON. — It is quite in character that the representatives of the Soviet modern revisionists who have usurped power in the U.S.S.R. should celebrate the 55th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Revolution in Russia at an exclusive luncheon-reception at the posh St George Hotel, on November 6.

The guests were drawn from diplomatic and business circles and included N.Z. Foreign Minister, Sir Keith Holyoake. Sir Keith must have been getting together quite a bit with the Soviet Embassy crowd recently, because he made the headlines by using a Russian phrase to propose a toast to his new friends' good health.

This whole exercise in hypocrisy was played in a very low key. So anxious were the Soviet Legation officials to avoid a confrontation with revolutionaries that information about when and where the reception was to be held was quite difficult to obtain. Even some of the trade union types who usually get invited to such occasions were not invited this year.

Never-the-less, when the select few arrived at the hotel they found a C.P.N.Z. leaflet being handed out to them and the masses passing by in the street. For the guests, there was even a special leaflet saying simply, "Down with U.S. imperialism, down with Soviet social-imperialism."

On November 7, the actual anniversary of the revolution, a group of about 15 people from the Anti-imperialist Front went up after work to the Soviet Legation in Messines Rd, where they stood for half an hour in howling wind and rain displaying a banner which read, "C.P.N.Z. condemns revisionist sell-out of October Revolution".

Two police cars arrived, but after collecting samples of our leaflets, the occupants quickly disappeared inside the legation. Remarked one old comrade: "I never thought I'd see the day when we stand out here in protest on November 7 while those bastards are invited in".

It is perhaps significant that when we rang a local newspaper to invite them to witness our protest we were told, "Sorry, Not interested — the Russians are respectable these days."
—R.

— R. 21/2/26

Photocopies please to

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24/2/8

PP.2.

ITEM 509]

1,150 pads/5/71—95721D

G.D.D. 11

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EXTRACT/~~COPY~~ For File 21/2/26

From: D.O.A. (CS4) Reference: AK/10/1B Date: 25.9.1972

Original on 21/2/15

Extracted/~~Copied~~ by [redacted] on 6.10.1972

CPNZ : FINANCES.

1. Recent information tends to confirm that CPNZ officials other than Charles Ronald HOWELL returned from visits to Peking in the early to late 1960's with large sums of cash in US currency. One such carrier was believed to have been Ian Rex MITCHELL and another Ralph Garven HEGMAN.

Ian Rex MITCHELL - Academy Theatre Ltd/Modern Film Ltd.

2. MITCHELL travelled to Moscow in July 1963 hoping to resolve to the satisfaction of Modern Films Ltd the question of the distributing rights in New Zealand for Soviet films. Modern Films Ltd had, until some little time previous to MITCHELL's trip to Moscow, handled the distribution of Soviet films and MITCHELL was hoping to dissuade the Soviets from granting sole rights to the Kerridge Organisation in Auckland. The latter group had, as a result of its own negotiations with Soviet Legation officials, agreed to undertake the distribution of Soviet films on the proviso that the participation of Modern Films Ltd was excluded altogether.

3. MITCHELL received little or no sympathy in Moscow and on his return journey stopped off in Peking where he was warmly welcomed. The Chinese not only agreed to supply Modern Films Ltd with movies but went so far as to liberally fund MITCHELL with cash which was later used by P.W.G.McARA to purchase the Academy Theatre in Auckland.

F.3

Source: [redacted]

HOA/SSP

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~~EXTRACT~~/COPY For File 21/2/26

From: D.O.A. Reference: AK/12/13 Date: 18.4.72

Original on 40/6/2

~~Extracted~~ Copied by [redacted] on 24.4.72

SUBJECT: BOILERMAKERS' UNION - Delegation to USSR.

1. Ralph G. HEGMAN mentioned on 17 April 1972 that he had had a visit from Alex (see comment below) at the weekend. Alex was up from Kawerau for three weeks and had gone to see HEGMAN because he had been asked (presumably by the Boilermakers' Union) to go as a Boilermakers' Union delegate on some union delegation to Russia. HEGMAN pointed out that this would of course pose problems which Alex fully appreciated but had thought there may have been some possibility of going. HEGMAN also warned Alex that he would be in trouble if the general public in New Zealand knew that a trade union delegation was off to Moscow.

2. Alex had hoped to link up with members of the Union in Australia who belonged to a breakaway Party. HEGMAN referred to that particular Party as being in great trouble. HEGMAN, having met Alex for the first time, liked the bloke and described him as active and enthusiastic and thought he was doing good work in Kawerau.

B.3.

SOURCE: [redacted]

COMMENT: Alex is possibly Alexander G. MacLEAN (PF) who is recorded as having leave of absence from the District in 1970. MacLEAN is a boilermaker.

[redacted]

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21/2/26

D.O.A.
H.Q.

AK/PF

RECEIVED
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9/11/70

ALEXANDER DRENNAN

1. On the 5th November source was present when Alexander DRENNAN told Peter Wilfrid CROSS and E.L.W. ROSS both PF) about his trip to China and Russia in 1960 - he was accompanied on this trip by Francis Edward McNULTY and Richard Charles WOLF (both PF).

2. DRENNAN mentioned that when the delegation reached Canton - after a long train trip from the frontier - they were told by the Chinese that there were no planes travelling to Peking the next day (Saturday) and that they would have to stay in Canton for longer than planned. DRENNAN said that the delegation spent from Friday to the following Tuesday sightseeing in Canton as each day they were told that there were no onward flights.

3. When at last they did arrive in Peking, the 2nd Secretary at the Russian Legation there was most irate and upset, and when DRENNAN told him that they were delayed because of lack of flights, the Secretary who was very furious told them that that was not true and that there had been a flight every day from Canton to Peking. Resulting from this the delegation spent only one day in Peking, and then flew on to Russia.

Source : [redacted]
Evaluation : B2

[redacted]

[redacted]

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EXTRACT/COPY For File 21/2/26

From Article "Moscow, Peking & N.Z.Communists" Reference: by -H.O.ROTH Date: 5.8.70

Original on 21/2/1 & H.O.ROTH

Extracted/Copied by [redacted] on 5.8.70

From 1956 onwards New Zealand delegates did attend some overseas meetings (the eighth congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1956, the Moscow world meeting in 1957, and the twenty-first congress of the CPSU in early 1959), but it is doubtful whether they were the recipients of many confidences.

Arising out of the Bucharest conference a more representative meeting of 81 parties was held in Moscow in November, 1960, at which the NZCP was represented by Wilcox and G. E. Jackson, the party chairman, and later R. Nunes who was already in Moscow. Sharkey and Dixon had gone to Moscow earlier as members of the preparatory commission, but on their way to Moscow the New Zealand delegates had discussions with other Australian leaders, notably L. Aarons and Hill, in Sydney. "We talked till well into the night," wrote Wilcox later in his reply to Australian attacks. "And was not the keynote of your approach the need to have a common stand against the revisionist danger at Moscow?"[1]

Although they had defied Khrushchov at Bucharest and were to do so again at the Moscow meeting, the New Zealand leaders so far had done only what they had been in the habit of doing, namely, followed the lead of the Australian party. Throughout 1961, the two parties took a similar stand in the dispute.

At the twenty-second congress of the CPSU in November, 1961, the CPNZ was represented by Jackson and B. Skilton. Despite the pressure that was brought to bear on them, they refused to join in the condemnation of the Albanian party whose representatives had not been invited to the congress.

Jackson reported back to a meeting of the Political Committee on 19 February, 1962, which welcomed the decisions of the Moscow congress but criticised cautiously some de-Stalinisation measures and reiterated the refusal to condemn Albania. The attitude adopted was one of neutrality in the ideological dispute. The committee decided to write to the Russian, Chinese and Albanian parties urging them to cease open polemics and hold bilateral meetings to iron out differences. It explained its stand by the fact that "it is doubtful if we have sufficient facts on the main issues involved", adding that a future world meeting was the right time and place for expressing New Zealand's opinions.[2]

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From: Reference: Date:

Original on

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Just before the Easter conference of the CPNZ an invitation arrived from the CPSU for joint talks in Moscow. This invitation was not announced in the *People's Voice* until mid-May, but was discussed at the conference.

The conference itself was notable for the impressive number of overseas delegates, a sign in itself of the rapidly developing ideological struggle. Besides the Australians and, for the second time, Chinese (Liu Ning-Yi), fraternal delegates were present from the Soviet Union (E. I. Bugayev), Indonesia, Albania, Italy and Canada. The main report of the National Committee, "Out to the People, Out to the Offensive against Monopoly", was delivered by Wilcox on 12 April, but a second report on the ideological issues was presented to a closed session from which the foreign guests were excluded.

Now, for the first time, all pretence of impartiality and neutrality in the dispute was dropped. "Comrades," said the report, "after deep thought, some heart-rending moments because of old established loyalties to the leadership of the CPSU—going back in many cases almost to childhood—after a review of other Parties' experiences in the imperialist world (to the degree that we know them) and trying honestly to use dialectically the wealth of Marxist knowledge available to all, together with consideration of the very large amount of polemical material issued, we have come to the conclusion that the leadership of the CPSU are showing in practice that they are basically in a revisionist position ... "[16]

Three members, Jackson, Skilton and G. H. Andersen, had opposed this report in the National Committee, but when put to the vote at the conference it was endorsed by delegates by forty-four votes to six. The minority later claimed that "the discussion preceding the 1963 National Conference was not in accord with the Constitution as the required circulation of the report and resolution for discussion by the branches was not done" and that "the report given to the closed session of the conference was new to delegates. It contained material relating to several countries including Cuba which was later exposed as nonsense, but the greatest factor of all influencing its acceptance was the promise that it would be used as a starting point in opening the coming discussion with the Communist party of the Soviet Union."[17]

Jackson, the party's president since 1951, was replaced at the conference by Williams. A National Secretariat circular explained that this change had occurred at Jackson's own request. "His reasons were that while completely condemning the wrong methods of work of the C.C. CPSU, he could not agree that they were related to incorrect ideology. He unreservedly endorses our main Report to Conference and agrees with our policy and ideological approach to the struggle in N.Z. He remains united in our Party leadership as a member of the Political Committee."[18]

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A later inner-party bulletin claimed that all six members who had disagreed with the decision on the ideological differences had stated that "they did not agree with the methods used by the Soviet leaders in using state measures against China and Albania".[19] This was hotly denied as a deliberate falsification, as far as he himself was concerned, by Hunter in Dunedin. "I personally," he wrote, "and the branch also, entirely upheld at the 1963 Conference, and still do, the CPSU, its policy and methods of work because in our view these fully correspond to the 81 Parties Statement and to the needs of the world situation."[20]

The report to the closed session remained a secret document until August, 1964. A National Secretariat circular issued soon after the conference gave party members only a short summary of the discussions on the ideological dispute and stressed that the decision reached was merely "the starting point for our approach at a future world meeting. It is not our final answer."[21] Less than a month later, however, the party took a further step which really marked the point of no return as far as its relations with the Russians were concerned.

On 19 May, Wilcox and Mrs. R. Smith arrived in Peking where they signed a joint statement with the Chinese Communist Party which accused the "modern revisionists" (i.e. the Russians) of emasculating the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism, paralysing the revolutionary will of the working class and working people, and serving the needs of imperialism and the reactionaries of various parties.[22] In a speech to the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the CPC, Wilcox underlined these points and warned against the regrowth of capitalist trends in socialist countries.

The pro-Russian minority in the CPNZ later charged that this journey to Peking was undertaken "without any prior consultation with the National Committee or its Political Committee".[23] Even after the agreement had been signed, it was not discussed in the Political Committee until after it had been endorsed at an Auckland district conference.

The main effect of this joint statement was on the forthcoming talks with the CPSU in Moscow, which had been initiated before the Easter conference. A Political Committee circular in July, 1963, stressed that the CPNZ had now "ceased as a Party, in any way, to be a mediator" and had formed an opinion.[24] Although the circular claimed that the party had adopted its position without overseas prompting, on the basis of its own experiences, the signing of an agreement with the Chinese in fact put the Russians, and to some extent the party's own membership, before a *fait accompli*. The CPNZ entered the discussions in Moscow, which took place in the first week of September, as an ally of the Chinese and the so-called joint talks became a mere formality, with statements and counter-statements and no real discussions.

According to Wilcox, the CPNZ delegates in Moscow were "given the

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For File

From: Reference: Date:

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run around".[29] They delivered their statement on the first day, 31 August, and had to wait until the afternoon of their day of departure, 4 September, to hear the reply delivered by M. Suslov. This took, with translation, from 2.15 until 5.30 and, as the New Zealanders were due to leave at 6 p.m., there was no time to study, agree or disagree. Officially the talks remained adjourned but they have not so far been resumed.

It is doubtful whether the talks could have led to any other result since both sides had taken up firm positions before meeting. As Suslov said, New Zealand statements "did not come as a revelation to us. We have already heard all this from the representatives of the CPC." Suslov stressed that relations between the two parties had not yet "reached the irremediable stage" but the only way to restore fraternal relations was for the leadership of the CPNZ to "show an understanding for the prevailing state of affairs" and "to summon strength enough to defend the only correct Marxist-Leninist course now followed by the absolute majority of the world's Communist Parties".[30]

I have been unable to see the three letters which the CPSU wrote to the CPNZ prior to this Moscow meeting, on 29 March and 10 August, 1962, and early in 1963,[*] but it appears that the Russians underestimated the extent of anti-Khrushchov (rather than pro-Mao) feeling among the New Zealand leaders dating back to Khrushchov's clumsy handling of the anti-Stalin campaign in his "secret speech". To ignore the invitation to the CPNZ's 1960 conference was a blunder as was the sending of a comparatively minor official to the 1963 conference (Bugayev was editor of the journal *Partiinaya Zhizn*).

Once the Russians had realised, however, the extent of New Zealand's commitment to the Chinese side, they began to take vigorous counter-measures. In their Open Letter of 14 July, the CPSU accused the Chinese of organising groups of renegades in a number of communist parties, including Australia but not New Zealand. The second half of 1963 marks the opening of Moscow's "tit-for-tat" struggle in New Zealand with the aim of isolating Wilcox and winning the membership of the CPNZ back to its traditional pro-Russian stand.

The fact that much of the subsequent polemics emanating from Moscow and Sydney was directed at Wilcox personally shows that he was held primarily responsible for the New Zealand party's swing to China. This is no doubt true but Wilcox was able to gain and keep the support of a majority of the party's membership and an explanation of New Zealand's pro-Chinese stand cannot be based on personal factors alone.

The efficiency of Chinese public relations has been put forward as another explanation, but this too must be dismissed as merely a subsidiary factor. There is no doubt, though, that the steady flow of invited visitors to China, the lavish receptions given to them and particularly to Wilcox and other party leaders, the establishment of a Hsinhua agency in Wellington, and the wide distribution in different languages given to CPNZ pronouncements by the Chinese propaganda organs all helped to strengthen New Zealand-Chinese communist ties.

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EXTRACT/COPY For File

From: Reference: Date:

Original on

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There were similar complaints when another attack on CPNZ policies and on Wilcox personally was distributed by the Soviet Embassy. This was *Who Will Benefit?*, a translation of an article in *Partiinaya Zhizn* replying to statements by Wilcox.[35] The editor of this journal, Bugayev, had attended the 1963 CPNZ conference as well as the joint CPNZ-CPSU talks later that year.

Perhaps in reply to this barrage, the CPNZ now released, although for inner-party circulation only, the full text of Wilcox's speech to the closed session of the 1963 conference. The *People's Voice* complained about the "distasteful international flavour" of the attacks[36] and a National Secretariat circular to members gave further examples of the campaign: "'Visitors'† to New Zealand from the U.S.S.R. and other places have been prepared to tell all and sundry why the CPNZ was ideologically incorrect. These attacks have not been confined to Party members. Many non-Party sympathisers and trade unionists have been the recipients of unsolicited material and opinions."[37] There was even a hint of Moscow gold when New Zealand delegates in Albania accused the revisionists of receiving "substantial aid from the Russians through their Embassy in Wellington".[38]

On 26 July, the National Committee approved a resolution opposing the new world communist meeting proposed by the CPSU. The committee preferred bilateral meetings but it also suggested a rival meeting of parties sharing New Zealand's ideological stand. This resolution openly projecting a split in the world communist movement was reprinted with approval in Peking. It precipitated another split in the Canterbury district of the CPNZ.

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21/2/26

Extract from " THE DOMINION " *Newspaper*

Published at WELLINGTON, *on [date]* 9 AUGUST 1969.

SUBJECT:

ACTION LINE
ACTION LINE THE DOMINION BOX 1297 WELLINGTON
44-822

Q: Did the New Zealand Communist Party send a delegation to the recent conference of world communist parties in Moscow? Where do the party's funds come from? What is its membership? — H.N.J., Wanganui.

A: The Secretary of the New Zealand Communist Party says that the party declined an invitation to attend as it regarded this conference as being, in general, one of traitors to the cause of communism as expounded by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and other great social revolutionaries. Funds come from the members, supporters in the ranks of the working class, farmers, small business men and others opposed to monopoly. It has never been the practice to reveal its numerical strength.

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[redacted]

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EXTRACT/COPY

Form (source): [redacted] Reference: 21/2/5 Date: 16.7.69

For File No. 21/2/26

Original on 21/2/5

Received on Extracted/~~Copied~~ by [redacted] On 18.7.69

CPNZ NATIONAL SECRETARIAT

1. A meeting of the CPNZ National Secretariat was held on 10th June 1969.

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10. INVITATION TO WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

HEGMAN told WILCOX that while he was away an invitation had been received to send delegates to the preparatory meeting, and also an invitation to attend the USSR Embassy. In the first place a "courier" visited the District Office with an informal note - a translation of the invitation to the Embassy. Later, a formal note had arrived repeating the request for him (presumably WILCOX) to go to the Embassy. WILCOX was of the opinion that the whole thing should be ignored as the CPNZ had made its position clear some time ago, and there was no need to make any changes. WILCOX appeared to be fairly disinterested in the news.

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B.3.

SOURCE: [redacted] (of 10.6.69)

16th July, 1969.

[redacted]

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EXTRACT/~~COPY~~

Form (source): D.O.A.   Reference: AK/10/49   Date: 26.3.69
For File No. 21/2/26
Original on 21/20/19
Received on 10.4.69   Extracted/~~Copied~~ by [redacted]   On 1.5.69

SUBJECT: NZ SUP: Visit of G.E. JACKSON and G.H. ANDERSEN to Soviet Legation.

1. Source was present when G.E. JACKSON, Alexander DRENNAN AND G.H. ANDERSEN were discussing the trip the previous day of both JACKSON and ANDERSEN to the Soviet Legation.

....

3. JACKSON's talk to DOROFEEV included the following subjects: -

....

(vi) World Preparatory Meeting. DOROFEEV suggested to JACKSON they set out the SUP position, in writing, and ask "them" to consider their attendance as observers so that there would be someone from New Zealand who would be familiar with the discussions and decisions of the meeting. If asked to speak JACKSON said the SUP could deal with their experiences

in the country "completely departed from the decisions of the 81 Party meeting" and the results it has had. JACKSON said there was also a basic problem of what to do in a country when you could no longer carry on any work whatever unless you wholly submerge yourself in a line against the international movement. If the Chinese Communists accepted the invitation the SUP would be in trouble and JACKSON doubted that the SUP would be able to attend as observers in this case. The CPNZ have been issued with invitations because it was a meeting open to all Communist Parties of the World, a principle the CPSU had kept to.

4. ANDERSEN had commented to DOROFEEV that if the NZ SUP's attendance at the World Communist Meeting caused any complication whatever in an already complicated international scene he was not keen for the SUP to attend.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

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21/2/26.

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE" *Newspaper*

Pub hed at Auckland, *on [date]* 23 October 1968

SUBJECT:

U.S. not worried by Czech 'stability'

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia has had no great worries for U.S. imperialism or its European allies. Even if the Soviet Union were to invade all of the European socialist states they wouldn't be at all concerned. This is because they have come to an "agreement" on the balance of "power" in Europe.

Between them, the U.S. and Soviet Union have come to an understanding and decided jointly on a "global strategy" which is of mutual benefit. This means that one part of Europe shall remain the stomping ground of U.S. imperialism while the other remains that of the Soviet Union.

Part of their plan is to help each other keep the people from struggling and disturbing the "stability." That is why the Soviet leaders are desperately trying to get the Viet Namese people to "negotiate" a "peaceful solution" to the Viet Nam war. Complete victory for the people in Viet Nam would be an example not only to the peoples of the world who suffer at the hands of U.S. imperialism but also to those who are dominated by the Soviet Union and local misleaders.

Focal point of the Soviet-U.S. collusion is the People's Republic of China which retains all of the socialist principles that the Soviet revisionists have sold out. China makes no deals with U.S. imperialism, has no imperialist objectives of its own, and continues to give firm support to the revolutionary people of the world.

[redacted]

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[redacted]

EXAMINED
3/2/69

[redacted]

ITEM 509]

Y70.

21/2/26.

Extract from " PEOPLE'S VOICE " *Newspaper*

Published at Auckland, *on [date]* 11 September 1968

SUBJECT:

Every pretext being used by Soviet leaders to cover up their aggression

Under the pretext of ensuring "normalisation" of the situation in Czechoslovakia, Soviet revisionist forces still continue their military occupation of that country. The facts show that their "normalisation" has nothing to do with restoring socialism but simply means acceptance by the Czechs of Soviet domination.

The Soviet invasion took place and is being carried on within the framework of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the division of the world. For a considerable time there has been a tacit understanding between Moscow and Washington that Moscow would have a free hand in Eastern Europe while U.S. imperialism had a free hand elsewhere.

Within this understanding the U.S. and the Soviet Union have recently concluded various agreements to "strengthen friendly relations" between the two countries. They include the so-called "Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty" and exchange of airport landing rights. Together the U.S. and the Soviet Union have been arming India for aggression against socialist China.

When they despatched their troops into Czechoslovakia the Soviet revisionists immediately notified the U.S. President. Likewise they were quick to assure the U.S. imperialists that they did not intend to move against Rumania.

While putting up an appearance of hostility to West Germany, the Soviet revisionist leaders have for a long time made every effort to increase trade and diplomatic contacts with Bonn. While Soviet troops were occupying Czechoslovakia, the Soviet ambassador to West Germany hastened to assure Chancellor Kiesinger that the occupation would not harm Soviet-West German relations in any way. The U.S. ambassador had already told Kiesinger to avoid any action which could harm U.S.-Soviet collaboration.

The Soviet revisionist's claim to be "protecting socialism" in Czechoslovakia is shown to be utterly false by their support for the Dubcek clique's "programme of reforms". This support was proclaimed in the communique issued from the Moscow talks between the two ruling cliques. The "programme" itself is but a continuation of the Soviet revisionist line of all-round restoration of capitalism in the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe.

The interests of the Czech working class and masses have been thoroughly sold out by the Soviet revisionists and their Czech counterparts. This is part of the international betrayal of revisionism, which everywhere allies itself with imperialism against the peoples.

The Czech people will surely awaken to this betrayal. They will surely take the road of revolutionary struggle for the restoration of socialism and against the occupationists and their puppets. So too will the Soviet people.

File

[redacted]

G.D.D. 11

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EXTRACT/~~COPY~~

Form (source): D.O.C. Reference: CH/10/11-561 Date: 3.9.68

For File No. 21/2/26

Original on 21/8/7

Received on 3.9.68 Extracted/~~Copied~~ by [redacted] On 6.9.68

SUBJECT: CENTRAL BRANCH CPNZ - CHRISTCHURCH.

1. A meeting of the Central Branch was held in the Party Rooms on the evening of 28th August 1968.

....

3. BLACKLOCK called the meeting to order saying that study would not be held as LOCKE was ill.

Leaflet from National Office

4. BLACKLOCK said that a leaflet had been received from National Office relating to the invasion of Czechoslovakia. He said the leaflet is extremely good and each member was given 35 copies to distribute.

....

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

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23/2/26

Extract from " PEKING REVIEW " *Newspaper*

P shed at PEKING, CHINA, *on [date]* 30 AUGUST 1968. (No. 35)

126

CSf

New Zealand Communist Party Statement

- **The Czechoslovak working class and people have only one road back to socialism, i.e., the road of revolution against the whole pack of phoney communists in their own country — which includes the followers of both Dubcek and the Soviet revisionist leaders.**

THE Communist Party of New Zealand in a statement on August 23 severely denounced the Soviet revisionist renegade clique for its monstrous crime of flagrantly dispatching large numbers of troops to carry out the military occupation of Czechoslovakia. The statement, entitled "The Truth About Czechoslovakia," reads as follows:

The military occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet and other satellite forces shows that the Soviet

They are not communists but careerists who seek a fat and comfortable living for themselves and the new bureaucratic manager class at the expense of the toiling people.

When Brezhnev and Kosygin supported Khrushchov in turning the Soviet Union back to capitalism they were able to deceive many people by claiming that they were creatively developing the teachings of Marx and Lenin, the great theory of communism known as Marxism-Leninism. What they actually did was to revise this theory out of recognition. Their revision of communist principles split the world communist movement.

The Communist Party of New Zealand stood with China and Albania in opposition to Soviet revisionism. They warned that the Soviet leaders were betraying the workers of the Soviet Union and the world, that Soviet policy would lead back to capitalism, to imperialism. They have been proved right.

Spokesmen and the press of capitalism seek to use the Russian actions to discredit socialism and communism, but any worker with real knowledge will see through this. He will know that the Soviet leaders are phoney communists. Therefore their actions cannot discredit genuine socialism which is flourishing in China and Albania.

The Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia means that the Czechoslovak working class and people are under capitalism — Russian style, instead of capitalism, Western style. They have only one road back to socialism. That is the road of revolution against the whole pack of phoney communists in their own country — which includes the followers of both Dubcek and the Russian leaders.

In due course they will take this road. So will the Soviet people.

leaders are in fact, imperialists, not communists. Since Khrushchov they have abandoned socialism and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union. Now they are acting like the capitalists of a big power towards the capitalists of a small power.

The Communist Party of New Zealand told them to their face five years ago that this was the road they were taking. Today's events prove it.

When the Soviet ruling group took the road of capitalism under Khrushchov, they bullied and bribed the Communist leaders of Czechoslovakia and other Eastern European countries into taking the same road. What has happened is that two sets of renegades have fallen out.

The restoration of capitalism took place in Czechoslovakia under the regime of President Novotny which was ousted earlier this year by Dubcek and his group. But Novotny, while going back to capitalism, was content for Czechoslovakia to remain a Soviet dependency. Dubcek and company wanted to cut completely free from the Soviet orbit and join up openly with Western capitalism.

The groundwork had already been laid for this under Novotny. The step-by-step restoration of capitalism which his group carried out created a new capitalist class in the form of highly paid bureaucrats and "business executives." And it also gave a new impetus to old capitalist forces which had not by any means been eliminated. These old and new capitalist forces brought Dubcek to power, using the pretext of "democratic reforms" to carry out open counter-revolution.

But the main culprits are the men in the Kremlin. They are representatives of the new capitalist grouping which has usurped power in what was formerly a great socialist state ruled by the working class.

A Lie.

[redacted]

21/2/26

NOTE FOR FILE

25/11/14

Demonstrations Against Soviet Intervention In Czechoslovakia.

1. The CPNZ held a demonstration outside the gates of the Soviet Legation at 5.45 p.m. on Wednesday 28th August 1968. At 5.35 p.m. about 20 demonstrators were present, with about 6 banners and placards denouncing Soviet interference in Czechoslovakia. Those present were orderly and reasonably well turned out.

2. The party appeared to consist almost entirely of CPNZ members/supporters. Surveillance on foot was of necessity brief, but I was able to recognise the following Party members:-

F.J. Collins
George GODDARD
Patrick Joseph KELLY
Edward Henderson McBRIER
David John MORGAN
Kenneth Sydney Charles STANTON
Dennis Augustus McCARTHY (all P/F)

3. A very large banner spanned the entire gate entrance, and had to be lifted aside when DC410 drove into the gates just before 5.45 p.m.

4. An old black MORRIS, CK8508, which was parked outside is registered in the name of Michael Edward MARSTERS, whom we now know to be a new Party member. It is reasonable to assume that he was also present. There were about 10 other cars parked close by, but the only other number noted does not appear to have belonged to the demonstrators.

5. It is hoped that PP were able to obtain photographs of the demonstration, when further identifications may be possible.

29th August, 1968.

[redacted]

R.
File 25/11/14
Copies: 21/5/5
21/2/19
21/2/26
M.E. MARSTERS

21/2/26.

EXTRACT from Orig. on 25/11/14.

Tourist and Publicity Department

RADIO AND TELEVISION COVERAGE - SOUTH-EAST ASIA
28 August 1968

RADIO 2YA Wgton
9 p.m. news

A four-man deputation with about a dozen sign-carrying supporters called at the Soviet Legation in Wellington tonight to protest at Russia's actions in Czechoslovakia. The deputation presented a statement by the Political Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand and had an hour-long talk with the Soviet Minister, The Minister was asked to forward the statement to Moscow for consideration. In return, the Communist Party of New Zealand was asked to consider the communiqué on Russian-Czech talks and the Russian people's point of view. Supporters accompanying the deputation carried signs claiming that Soviet leaders had betrayed socialism, and that the Soviet working class will revolt again. The signs also called on Soviet workers to overthrow their betrayers.(Verbatim).

Checkpoint

One item was an interview by Kenneth Funnell with R. N Organising Secretary of the Communist Party of New Ze on Russia's action in Czechoslovakia. A verbatim rep follows the television report.

....

Checkpoint

George Andrews introduced this item, as follows:
In New Zealand protest against Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia continued today. A large protest march, including a number of mayors, went through Auckland street at lunch time and tonight; a four-man deputation from th Communist Party of New Zealand registered their protest a the Soviet Legation in Wellington. Why does our own Peking-orientated Communist Party take this stand i dispute? Kenneth Funnell called Auckland and spoke t organising secretary, Mr R. Nunes.

Funnell: Mr Nunes, why do you condemn the Russian intervention in Czecholsovakia now, whereas in 1956 you didn't condemn it in Hungary?

Nunes: Well, for one thing, the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia now has taken place when the Soviet leade have completely gone back to capitalism. They're acting like imperialists. In 1956, while there were tendencies doubt in this direction emerging, they hadn't solidified and we consider that the situation is not on all fours w that in 1956.

Funnell: Does this mean that you think that if the Russi had not altered their general policies in the m ime intervention by them in this case would have been justifi

Nunes: Not necessarily. But in 1956 there was an armed Fascist uprising, as we see it, in Hungary; and that situation did not at all exist in Czechoslovakia. This out and out imperialist aggression, something like what Yanks are doing in Vietnam.

Funnell: Do you feel that an intervention by a socialis country in the internal affairs of another is justifed there is something like what you would describe as Fascist uprising?

Nunes: That would depend on the concrete circumstanes. First of all the working class of those countries wuld to call for it and the countries involved would cerain have to be firmly on the socialist path. This is t t case today. Far from it.

Funnell: The Russians say they were actually invied i Czechoslovakia.

Nunes: Ah, that's nonsense. There may have been ne c two of their stooges who did it.

/..

F

Funnell: Well, what do you think the Russian response to developments in Czechoslovakia over the past few months should have been?

Nunes: Well, I can say what their response should have bee had they been communists instead of phony communists. If they had been real communists of course this would not have arisen, because the Czech people would have still bee firmly on the road to socialism. Through following the Russian example, following that betrayal by the Russian leadership, the Czechs have taken large strides on the road to capitalism. That's the secondary aspect, actually. The fact that Russia wants to keep Czechoslovakia in its empire is the basic thing. I don't think the Russians, if they had been real communists, would have considered invasion.

Funnell: You talk of the Czechs having followed the Russian example, In fact they have gone much further beyond it, haven't they?

Nunes: Only in appearance. They have shown indications of wanting to cut completely loose from the Soviet orbit, from the Soviet empire, and the Soviet leadership, having betrayed communism already, consider only the narrow class interests of new capitalists - the new imperialists in fact - in the Soviet Union. Consequently they are not any more, or any less capitalist in their outlook than the Czechs. It's a question, basically, of imperialism.

Funnell: Well, do you think that Russia's fears of a possible resurgence of West German influence in Central Europe if the Warsaw Pact were weakened by a possible Czech weakening of its ties with the Pact. Do you think these fears are justified or have any substance?

Nunes: Well, to frightened imperialists all these things have substance. They're concerned with hanging onto their spheres of influence and their dependencies, and any signs that one country is trying to cut loose from this vice that they have in the economic, military, and political fields invariably brings a sharp reaction from imperialists. It's the same with Brirish imperialism, and United States imperialism particularly today.

Funnell: Do you see the Warsaw Pact as embodying what you would call imperialist relationships?

Nunes: Yes.

Funnell: Yet the relationship of Russia to the East European states today is surely far looser than it was in the time of Stalin?

Nunes: Yes, but rember that when Yugoslavia went the same road as Czechoslovakia in 1949 Stalin was in the lead in the Soviet Union, and the Soviet rtoops did not invade Yugoslavia. That was a different situation from the point of view of the communist movement.

Funnell: They did invade Hungary?

Nunes: Stalin was dead then, you recall.

Funnell: But you approved the invasion of Hungary?

Nunes: Yes. Well, I didn't consider it was invasion. I considered that the situation was quite different.

21/2/26.

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE" *Newspaper*

Published at Auckland, *on [date]* 28 August 1968

SUBJECT:

REAL MOTIVES BEHIND U.S.S.R. AGGRESSION

Statement by Political Committee of Communist Party of N.Z.

"In the sacred name of the defence of socialism the Soviet leadership, the major betrayers of Marxism Leninism, and their stooges in other Eastern European countries have committed aggression and sent their armed forces into Czechoslovakia," says a statement by the Political Committee of the Communist Party of New Zealand. It continued:

"What hypocrisy to speak of the defence of socialism? These people, who have committed this ordinary act of imperialist aggression against a small country, have themselves led their own countries back on the road to capitalism. They have created a situation in their countries internally where it is becoming increasingly possible for the few to again exploit the many.

"The issue is not that Czechoslovakia has departed from the socialist road (which it has). It is not that they are going to bring things back to a socialist position. Neither is the position a question of too much 'liberalisation' by which term our capitalist apologists just mean capitalism as we know it.

"The issue is that the Soviet leadership, having left the ranks of Communism many years ago, having split the world movement, and both driven and persuaded many others to follow their rotten revisionist line, have now logically reached the position that, as the leadership of a great power now basically capitalist, they pursue ordinary imperialist policy

"That is the root cause of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. It is the outcome of their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, of their adoption of great nation chauvinism, both internally and in the international movement. It is part of the Soviet leadership's plan to create a situation where they can proceed to the division of the world between themselves and the U.S.A.

"To do this both the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union must have firm bases and spheres of influence. They both must have their 'empires'.

Like Viet Nam

"Czechoslovakia is part of the 'empire' of the Soviet Union today. With capitalist development encouraged by the Soviet leaders in the past, it was moving to a position where there was the possibility of bargaining between the Soviet Union and Western capitalist powers, particularly the U.S.A. as to its camp

"It was considering large loans from the World Bank with all its Western capitalist tags on internal policy. There was a danger of it passing from the Soviet 'empire'. Hence the aggressive action, the armed entry into Czechoslovakia.

"This was just an ordinary imperialist act carried out in the imperialist interests of the leadership of the Soviet Union, just as U.S. aggression in Viet Nam and South East Asia, in South America and elsewhere is carried out in the interests of the U.S. monopoly class.

Infiltration

"It had nothing to do with the interests of socialism in Czechoslovakia or anywhere else. That is sheer nonsense, as is the story that the move was essential because of the infiltration of some 500,000 agents recently from Western Capitalism. No doubt some infiltration has occurred.

"This will always happen in the big imperialist power game on the fringes of their spheres of influence but it is not a decisive factor.

● **Continued on Back Page**

2./ ....

21/2/26.

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE" *Newspaper*

Published at Auckland, *on [date]* 28 August 1968

SUBJECT:

CONTINUED:

(Cont'd from Front Page)

The basic factor for the Soviet action is that it is pursuing an imperialist and not a socialist foreign policy.

"That differences should arise between the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union and the other revisionists of Eastern Europe is not a cause for surprise. It arises from the very centre of Soviet policy which, as indicated, is the forging of new ties and alliances with U.S. imperialism and world capitalism.

"This aspect dominates the capitalist-revisionist world today and from it emerges the present policies of opposing Marxism-Leninism, socialism and revolution by deeds They still mouth the words.

"But in itself this policy creates the situation where the Soviet satellites tend to detach themselves from the Soviet power bloc and try to prepare to enter the new sphere of Western Capitalism independent of Soviet policy

"We are likely to see more of these developments in the future. Like all capitalists they will in time quarrel among themselves.

"For the future, in the Soviet Union and in the other Eastern European countries (today wrongly called 'Communist'), there is only one road and that is the road of a new proletarian peoples' revolution that will cast aside these betrayers of our great cause and change the course of their countries' history back on to the road of socialism," concluded the statement.

N.Z. Communists protested to Moscow in 1963

Among the Communist parties of the Western world the Communist Party of New Zealand is the only party to have consistently exposed Soviet revisionism.

In 1963 the New Zealand Party sent a delegation to Moscow to tell the Russian leaders that they were following a line that would end in the betrayal of Communism. At those talks they accused the Soviet leaders of "great-nation chauvinism" (i.e., extreme, big-power nationalism). This "great-nation chauvinism" has been demonstrated towards Czechoslovakia today.

Speaking of Soviet reliance on their military might, and not on the people, Mr V. G. Wilcox said to the Russians in August, 1963: "In our opinion, this is revisionism. It could quite easily lead . . . to a great-nation chauvinism". To this the Russian spokesman Suslov could only give the feeble answer that the N.Z. Communists were "small-nation chauvinists".

In recent years the C.P.N.Z. has consistently exposed the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the countries under its control. It has pointed out all the time that this is a betrayal of socialism, that such betrayal is the inevitable outcome of revisionism. (Revisionism is the complete watering down of basic Communist principles.)

Many workers who earlier could not believe that the Soviet revisionists had abandoned socialism should be able to see now that they have not only done this but have become imperialists.

ITEM 509]

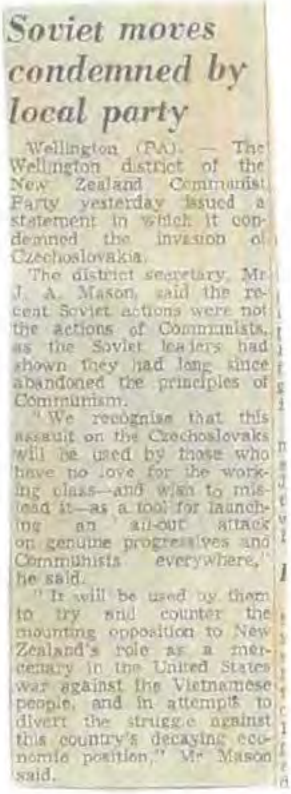
Y70.

21/2/26

Extract from "Evening Star" Newspaper

Published at Dunedin, on [date] 26/8/68

SUBJECT: Soviet moves condemned by local party



Soviet moves condemned by local party

Wellington (PA). — The Wellington district of the New Zealand Communist Party yesterday issued a statement in which it condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The district secretary, Mr J. A. Mason, said the recent Soviet actions were not the actions of Communists, as the Soviet leaders had shown they had long since abandoned the principles of Communism.

"We recognise that this assault on the Czechoslovaks will be used by those who have no love for the working class—and wish to mislead it—as a tool for launching an all-out attack on genuine progressives and Communists everywhere," he said.

"It will be used by them to try and counter the mounting opposition to New Zealand's role as a mercenary in the United States war against the Vietnamese people, and in attempts to divert the struggle against this country's decaying economic position," Mr Mason said.

29 AUG 1968

John Andrew MANSON (PF)

Lie 21/2/26

[redacted]

21/2/26

Extract from "THE DOMINION" *Newspaper*

Published at WELLINGTON, *on [date]* 26 AUGUST 1968

SUBJECT:

CS.1

RED INVASION CONDEMNED

The Wellington district of the New Zealand Communist Party last night condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The district secretary, Mr. J. A. Mason, said: "The recent Soviet actions are not the actions of Communists, as the Soviet leaders have shown that they have long since abandoned the principles of Communism.

"We recognise that this assault on the Czechoslovaks will be used by those who have no love for the working class, and wish to mislead it, as a tool for launching an all-out attack on genuine progressives and Communists everywhere."

K. Lie

[redacted]

21/2/26

[redacted]

[redacted]

21/5/5

CS.1.

26.8.1968

George ANDREWS of the NZBC (TV) visits Wellington CP Office.

1. Source was present when George ANDREWS visited the Wellington CP office on 22nd August 1968 and asked John A. MANSON for a statement about the Czech situation. MANSON informed ANDREWS he would have to contact V.G. WILCOX in Auckland.

2. ANDR WS had his photographer take a few shots of the CP office.

3. ANDREWS was also to interview Kenneth G. DOUGLAS of the Socialist Unity Party.

4. MANSON informed V.G. WILCOX by phone that the NZBC would be contacting him.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted] (Reports for 21-23 August 1968).

[redacted]

R.

File 21/5/5.
Copies to: 21/2/26
21/20/20
21/21/50
PF: DOUGLAS, K.G.

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26.

NOTE FOR FILE

CPNZ RELATIONS WITH CPSU.

1. Among those at the demonstration against Soviet Union and allies intervention in Czechoslovakia was a small group of CPNZ members.

2. A large number of Wellington District CP leaflets dealing with the subject of the demonstration were distributed, the attached being one of a number distributed by Christopher Yates BUTLER (PF).

26th August, 1968.

[redacted]

[redacted]

File 21/2/26 + pamphlet
Copies to: 21/5/5 + pamphlet
P.F. BUTLER, C.Y.

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

THE WELLINGTON DISTRICT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF N.Z. STATES:

Communists, workers, intellectuals, all those who seek social progress, oppose wholeheartedly the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the events leading up to it.

We are convinced that this abominable interference in the internal affairs of a small country is not warranted by any consideration of the "defence needs" of the U.S.S.R. or Czechoslovakia, but is to continue the domination and exploitation of the wealth of Eastern Europe. We believe that this aggression, which has dismayed many liberals and genuine socialist supporters, is the inevitable outcome of continuing trends towards the restoration of capitalist economic policies, ideas, and morality in the Soviet Union. These trends find their reflection also in Czechoslovakia and have led to the degeneration of that country.

We deplore this action of a state which miscalls itself socialist, but is no longer socialist. It horrifies decent men everywhere, and lends cover to the rabid United States aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere. These Soviet actions are not the actions of Communists - the Soviet leaders have shown that they have long since abandoned the path to communism. The Communist Party of New Zealand told them this to their face five years ago. Today's events prove it.

We call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Czechoslovakia and an end to foreign interference there.

P.T.O.

We recognise that this assault on the Czechoslovaks will be used by those who have no love for working people - whether Czechoslovak or New Zealand - as a handy tool for launching an all-out attack on genuine progressives, socialists and communists everywhere. It will be used by them to counter the mounting opposition to New Zealand's role as a mercenary in the United States war against the Vietnamese people, and in attempts to divert the struggle against New Zealand's decaying economic position generally.

OPPOSE UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM IN VIETNAM AND SOVIET BETRAYAL
OF SOCIALISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA!

SUPPORT NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE FOR ALL COUNTRIES INCLUDING N.Z.,
CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND VIETNAM!

BEWARE THE PHONEYS WHO ATTACK THE WORKERS' INTERESTS EVERYWHERE!

For a fuller behind-the-news treatment of this subject and other important matters

Read the "PEOPLES VOICE"

Every Wednesday Price 8c.

Printed by the Wellington District, C.P.N.Z.,
125 Cuba St.

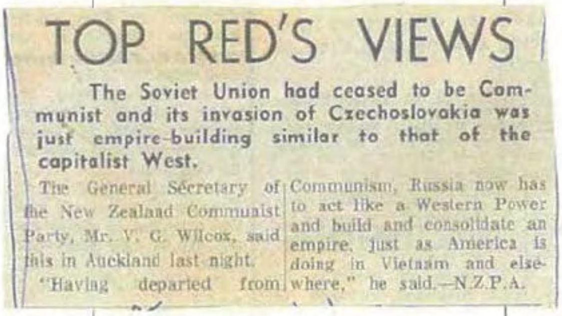
21/2/26

Extract from "THE DOMINION" Newspaper

Published at WELLINGTON, on [date] 23 AUGUST 1968

SUBJECT:

CS/I



TOP RED'S VIEWS

The Soviet Union had ceased to be Communist and its invasion of Czechoslovakia was just empire-building similar to that of the capitalist West.

The General Secretary of the New Zealand Communist Party, Mr. V. G. Wilcox, said this in Auckland last night.

"Having departed from Communism, Russia now has to act like a Western Power and build and consolidate an empire, just as America is doing in Vietnam and elsewhere," he said.—N.Z.P.A.

[redacted]

file 21/2/26

[redacted]

EXTRACT/COPY

Form (source): RADIO & TV COVERAGE - S.E. ASIA
Reference:
Date: 22.8.68.
For File No. 21/2/26
Original on
Received on
Extracted/Copied by [redacted]
On 6.9.68.

INTERVIEWS WITH NEW ZEALAND COMMUNISTS

Pottinger What effect is the Soviet action likely to have on the world communist movement? Here are some comments from communists in New Zealand.

Question Mr Wilcox, have the events of the last few days come as a surprise to you?

Wilcox Well, I must say I didn't expect the Soviet Army with their satellites from other European powers to move in as they have done. But overall the events are no surprise, because the Soviet leadership, in our opinion, left the world communist movement many long years ago, and took the road to what I would term Soviet Imperialism, the road back to capitalism; and consequently they must have their empire to preserve, as one of the major world powers, in dealing with the other major world power, the United States of America. So I think it fairly logical that under those circumstances they would put pressure on to maintain (the position) when other people are moving away from that position, from being satellites of the Soviet leadership. I think that's what has happened in actual fact.

Question Do you think the action, then, is justified?

Wilcox No, it ain't justified at all, to my concepts. First, they have betrayed the international communist movement, many years ago. Secondly, there is no justification for aggression under any circumstances.

Question Do you think they are responding to any kind of request from within Czechoslovakia?

Wilcox I very much doubt it.

Question How about the effect of this action on the world communist movement? Is it going to fragment it even more than before?

Wilcox Well, I think it will cause great trouble and differences in what was formerly the world communist movement, which we term the revisionist elements that we no longer regard as communism. But I think it will strengthen the Marxist-Leninist world revolutionary movement, which of course today is led the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China.

That ended the Wilcox interview, and his place was taken by G.E. Jackson, of the Socialist Unity Party.

Jackson Well, we are concerned, like everybody else; but we can only conclude that when five socialist states take an action of this kind they must have concluded that the reasons were very great and it was warranted. We do not have sufficient information to be able to judge that ourselves. We feel that that has been the basis of their judgement that sufficiently strong action was needed.

/2

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/~~COPY~~

Form (source): Reference: Date:

For File No.

Original on

Received on Extracted/Copied by On

Question What do you think would have prompted them at this particular time, in view of what you do know of the events of the last few weeks?

Jackson Well, it's nothing to do with the internal programme of the Czech communists. That was dealt with in the letter the five parties wrote to them, and they said that was their affair. But any activities that threatened the security of socialist countries - anything threatening the security of Czechoslovakia must threaten the security of them all - would have been the overriding consideration, we feel.

Question Do you think they will have moved in response to an internal request?

Jackson Well, we haven't any evidence on that. There is conflicting evidence in the news that has come so far. We have no more news than the press and the radio. But we feel that whether they have had an invitation or not, they have decided that this was sufficiently grave. It is an important question, we realise that, and we are only estimating it on the knowledge we have at this stage. If we had other information, it could influence our attitude. But we look on those countries as five socialist countries. Czechoslovakia is a socialist country and whatever has been done will undoubtedly cause problems, but was considered necessary or they would certainly not have taken a step like this.

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26

Background Note - Not for Publication

N.Z. COMMUNIST PARTY ATTITUDES TO CZECHOSLOVAK REFORMS

The Czechoslovak Communist Party's Action Programme, and the dispute it has caused with the Soviet Union, continue to attract world interest. Reactions from New Zealand's two communist parties were predictably varied.

The pro-Chinese N.Z. Communist Party stated in its People's Voice, that the situation confirmed Mao Tse-tung's prediction that the "holy alliance" (sic) of the revisionists, imperialists, and reactionaries "is doomed to bankruptcy and is already in the process of disintegration," and referred to the whole situation as a feud between two leading revisionist groups. This was also the line followed by the pro-Chinese Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).

The pro-Soviet N.Z. Socialist Unity Party, however, has in its Tribune avoided giving specific support for the Czechoslovak Party's Action Programme, though it published the main points in its July issue and quoted the views of leaders of the Italian and Australian (Australian pro-Soviet) Communist Parties approving them.

The NZ SUP apparently thought it prudent to remain uncommitted at this stage. It would have kept faith with its members had it followed the CPA line, and its own established policy of upholding the right of each socialist country to choose its own road to socialism. However, if it had done so it would have risked incurring U.S.S.R. displeasure, endangering its currently good chances of gaining a formal place in the international Communist movement, and thus an invitation to attend the Soviet-sponsored Conference of World Communist Parties to be held in November. The already-accredited CPA had no parallel problem.

21st August, 1968.

21/2/26

~~SECRET~~

D.O.A. AK/4/62A 5.2.68

HQ (CS) 7.2.1968 21/2/19

CPNZ - Relations with the Soviet Legation.

1. During a recent conversation with Party members in Auckland V.G. WILCOX mentioned that V.I. SMIRNOV had apparently been trying to contact him but was unsuccessful as WILCOX had been very evasive. WILCOX said that if he had answered the telephone call from SMIRNOV he would have had to have been at home but as he did not answer it he was not at home. WILCOX said he was supposed to have rung SMIRNOV on the following day after this call.

2. R.A. OSTLER then said that SMIRNOV had come to the District Office CPNZ at Auckland, had held out his hand which OSTLER shook, and had then said he had come to deliver something from the Hungarian Party - and had then "sloped off". That something turned out to be about the Preparatory Conference for the World Meeting.

3. It was also mentioned that SMIRNOV had been chasing "Jack" (unidentified). WILCOX stated that SMIRNOV had been staying at some Motel at Herne Bay.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] 21/2/26

D.O.A. AK/4/62A 5. 2.68
HQ (CS) 7. 2.1968 30/1/4

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCES.

It was mentioned by Party members in Auckland that the CPNZ has received a letter from the Hungarian Communist Party which was just an invitation from the country acting as hosts (probably to the Preparatory Meeting of World Communist Parties). It has been decided not to ignore the letter as it gave the CPNZ a chance to turn the invitation down publicly. The matter was to be finalised shortly after V.G. WILCOX had prepared a brief reply.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

G.D.D. 11

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/~~COPY~~

From (source): Foreign Broadcast Inf. Service

Reference: Daily Report No 251

Date: 18.12.67

For File No. 21/2/26

Original on

Received on

Extracted/Copied by [redacted]

On 15.1.68

NEW ZEALAND CP CONDEMNS USSR CONFERENCE PLANS

Peking NCNA International Service in English 2003 GMT 26 Dec 67 W

[Text] Wellington, 25 December--The secretariat of the Communist Party of New Zealand recently issued a statement exposing and condemning the criminal plot of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique to call a counterrevolutionary anti-China conference.

The statement carried in the 13 December issue of the weekly PEOPLE'S VOICE points out that "the Soviet leaders are making efforts to organize a new 'world conference' of the communist parties. Their real intention in this is to use such a 'conference' to attack China and help imperialism."

"If they could do this, it would be the greatest service they could perform for U.S. imperialism," the statement says.

It continued, "But these hopes were doomed to failure. China stands today as the main bastion of socialism, national liberation, and anti-imperialism. Because of this it is an irresistible magnet to the world's peoples in the struggle against their main enemy--U.S. imperialism.

"By contrast, the Soviet leaders have long since sold out to capitalism. They have basically restored capitalism in the Soviet Union by restoring the profit motive in production. Under cover of the deceptive slogan of 'unity against imperialism in Vietnam, they collaborate with U.S. imperialism in trying to force Vietnam to accept U.S. peace terms. They arm capitalist India against socialist China and give aid to the fascist regime in Indonesia."

The statement stresses that under these circumstances, any Soviet-sponsored "world conference" "can only be a conference to rubber stamp and policies of collaboration with imperialism and betrayal of socialism." "This once again proves that it is impossible to fight imperialism effectively without persistent struggle against revisionism," the statement says.

The statement declares: "No such phony 'conference' can succeed in holding back the growing tide of revolutionary struggle throughout the world.

"The world's workers and oppressed peoples are uniting under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Marxism-Leninism of today. Neither the U.S. imperialists nor their partners in the Kremlin can halt this process."

File

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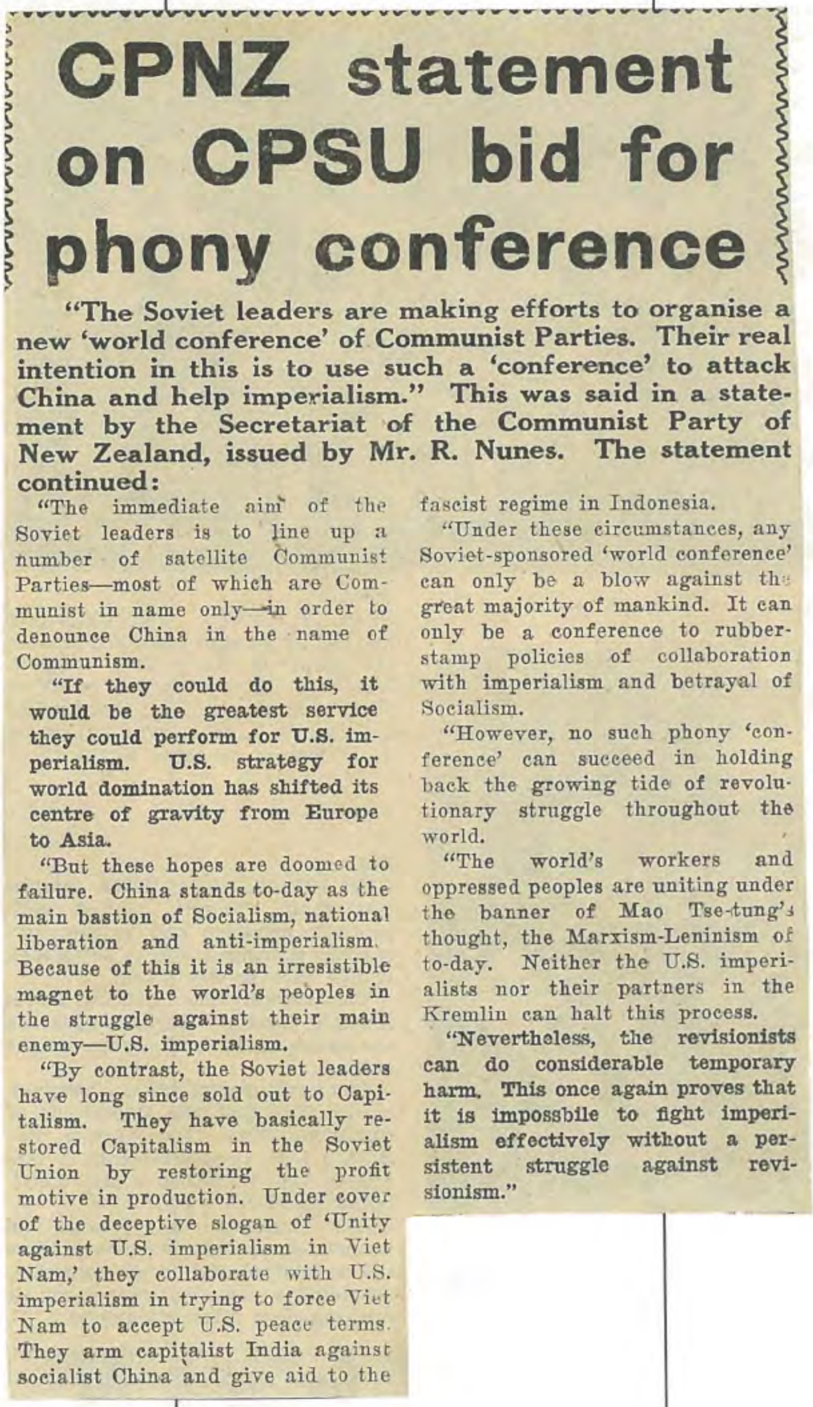
10,000/5/66—20142 P

21/2/26.

Extract from " PEOPLE'S VOICE *" Newspaper.*

Publish~~ed~~ at Auckland *, on [date]* 13 December 1967

SUBJECT:



CPNZ statement on CPSU bid for phony conference

"The Soviet leaders are making efforts to organise a new 'world conference' of Communist Parties. Their real intention in this is to use such a 'conference' to attack China and help imperialism." This was said in a statement by the Secretariat of the Communist Party of New Zealand, issued by Mr. R. Nunes. The statement continued:

"The immediate aim of the Soviet leaders is to line up a number of satellite Communist Parties—most of which are Communist in name only—in order to denounce China in the name of Communism.

"If they could do this, it would be the greatest service they could perform for U.S. imperialism. U.S. strategy for world domination has shifted its centre of gravity from Europe to Asia.

"But these hopes are doomed to failure. China stands to-day as the main bastion of Socialism, national liberation and anti-imperialism. Because of this it is an irresistible magnet to the world's peoples in the struggle against their main enemy—U.S. imperialism.

"By contrast, the Soviet leaders have long since sold out to Capitalism. They have basically restored Capitalism in the Soviet Union by restoring the profit motive in production. Under cover of the deceptive slogan of 'Unity against U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam,' they collaborate with U.S. imperialism in trying to force Viet Nam to accept U.S. peace terms. They arm capitalist India against socialist China and give aid to the fascist regime in Indonesia.

"Under these circumstances, any Soviet-sponsored 'world conference' can only be a blow against the great majority of mankind. It can only be a conference to rubber-stamp policies of collaboration with imperialism and betrayal of Socialism.

"However, no such phony 'conference' can succeed in holding back the growing tide of revolutionary struggle throughout the world.

"The world's workers and oppressed peoples are uniting under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Marxism-Leninism of to-day. Neither the U.S. imperialists nor their partners in the Kremlin can halt this process.

"Nevertheless, the revisionists can do considerable temporary harm. This once again proves that it is impossbile to fight imperialism effectively without a persistent struggle against revisionism."

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/~~COPY~~

From (source): D.O.A. Reference: AK/10/55 Date: 4.10.67

For File No. 21/2/26

Original on 21/21/24

Received on 10.10.67 Extracted/~~Copied~~ by [redacted] On 12.10.67

SUBJECT: NZ SUP - Auckland West Branch.

1. A meeting of the "West" Branch was held at the FARNHAM residence, 18 Queen Mary Avenue, New Lynn, on the evening of Tuesday 3 October 1967. The meeting had been called to elect a new Chairman in place of Donald ROSS who had moved to the Kaitaia area.

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Delegation to USSR.

6. G.E. JACKSON mentioned that he and Aubrey Bruce SKILTON had been specially invited to attend the celebrations in USSR in early November, and that they had also been invited to attend a 5-day meeting of the "Special Committee on Marx, In ternationalism and ? " to be held from 10th to 15th November 1967. He added that the Soviet Union "recognises" the NZ SUP but that they (the Soviet Union) had not tendered an invitation to the CPNZ.

....

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/COPY

From (source): [redacted] Reference: F.F. Date: 19.6.1967

For File No. 21/2/26

Original on F.F. (POTAK, T.)

Received on Extracted/~~Copied~~ by [redacted] On 20.6.1967

Thomas POTAK - Discussion on Trade Union and Party Matters.

1. Source reported that he was present during a long discussion between John A. MANSON and Thoma s POTAK on Trade Union and Party matters.

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9. MANSON explained the fundamentals of the ideological struggle on Marxism which had involved the Party since 1960. He said that both the Chinese and the Soviets had been asked to stop sending material to individual members of the Party but to send it to the National Centre. The Chinese had complied but the Soviets had put out a vicious attack on V.G. WILCOX, and the NZ-USSR Society had been used for distributing Soviet material. He said that the Soviet Legation was bringing people to New Zealand through the Society to propound the policy of the Soviet Government. He added that B.Y. DOROFEEV, the Soviet Minister who had been MANSON's interpreter in 1960, had been sent to NZ specifically to disrup the CPNZ.

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B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

CHECKED 25/8/67 [redacted]

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21/2/26.

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE" *Newspaper.*

Published at Auckland, *on [date]* 26 April 1967

SUBJECT:

CPNZ statement on Brezhnev's 'unity' call

21/2

"Mr. Brezhnev is talking with tongue in cheek when he calls upon China to unite with the Soviet Union against the U.S. in Viet Nam," said a statement issued this week by Mr. R. Nunes for the National Secretariat of the Communist Party of New Zealand. The statement was commenting on a speech by Mr. Brezhnev to the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party in East Germany on Wednesday of last week.

"Mr. Brezhnev utters his phrases about 'unity of action' with deceptive glibness," the statement continued. "However, those who compare the deeds of the Soviet revisionists with their words will not be taken in.

"While Brezhnev, Kosygin and company talk of helping Viet Namese patriots to the utmost, they have given the U.S. imperialists the greatest practical aid behind the scenes.

"During 1966, they were busy organising a 'disengagement' in Europe which has enabled the U.S. military to conduct an enormous shift of forces from Europe to Viet Nam.

"At the beginning of 1967, when all the U.S. stooges, from Mrs. Gandhi to Harold Wilson, were actively promoting Johnson's fraudulent 'peace talks,' Kosygin went to Britain to connive with Wilson on a 'satisfactory' formula to end the war—satisfactory to the U.S., that is.

"Kosygin's formula was that the U.S. halt its bombing of north Viet Nam in order to get peace talks started. This was a complete departure from the previous pledge by the U.S.S.R. to support the four conditions laid down by north Viet Nam for a settlement, one of the conditions being the complete withdrawal of U.S. forces from south Viet Nam.

"This change in stance followed a period of heavy diplomatic pressure by the Soviet revisionist leaders aimed at compelling the Viet Namese people to accept Johnson's phoney 'peace talks.'

"Besides all this, the Soviet leaders have united with U.S. imperialism in an alliance against the most steadfast, consistent and selfless friend of the Viet Namese people—China.

"They have given huge quantities of arms to the Indian ruling class for use against China, have deployed large armies on the Chinese border, and have circulated the deliberate lie that China has blocked Soviet aid shipments from reaching Viet Nam.

"While they pose as Communists and revolutionaries, they extend credits and military aid to the Suharto gang, the U.S.-backed butchers of Indonesian Communists and patriots. Less than a month ago, they established diplomatic relations with the counter-revolutionary feudal puppet regime in 'Malaysia.'

"This is a far from exhaustive list of recent Soviet actions which belie their honeyed words about unity with China to aid Viet Nam.

"The unity that Messrs. Brezhnev and company really want is not one of action, but one of inaction. Their main concern is to be friends with the U.S. imperialists. To this end they appeal to the U.S. corporations for trade and advertising; they make every effort to hasten agreement with Washington on a nuclear non-proliferation treaty; they have just concluded an agreement for U.S. 'planes to have landing rights in the U.S.S.R.

"The Soviet leaders shout about unity to cover their betrayals. The Chinese leaders have no intention of fooling people by joining hands with scabs and renegades.

"All who fight against imperialism should match the words of the Soviet revisionists against their deeds. They will see then that the voice may be the voice of Brezhnev, but the hands are the hands of Johnson," concluded the statement.

For file 31/2/26 —
Original On 31/2/1

- 1 NOV 1966

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

By 1962, V.G. WILCOX and the majority of the Political Committee were firmly committed to the Chinese in the Sino-Soviet dispute and WILCOX's report to the Political Committee in February 1962 gave some indication of his preoccupation with the matter. During 1962 CPNZ leaders held a number of secret talks with leading Australian Communists who were opposing the pro-Soviet position of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA): in particular, significant discussions were held with Edward Fowler HILL, a member of the Central Committee of the CPA and subsequently founder of the breakaway pro-Chinese Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). In addition WILCOX visited Peking in July and in November CPNZ Secretariat member W.H. WILLIAMS returned via China after a visit to Albania.

As stated above the CPNZ National Conference in April 1963, at which WILCOX obtained the Party's endorsement of his pro-Chinese policies, was attended by delegates from seven overseas Communist Parties - from Russia, China, Indonesia, Albania, Canada, Italy and Australia. There was also a delegate from the international Communist political journal, the World Marxist Review. This was the first occasion on which such a large number of overseas Parties had thought it desirable to send delegations to a New Zealand Conference, thus reflecting the sudden importance of the CPNZ in the eyes of the world movement in consequence of its pro-Chinese stand in the ideological dispute.

In May 1963 WILCOX visited China at the invitation of the Central Committee of the CCP and a joint statement was issued which reflected the Chinese position on most points at issue within the international Communist movement. Visits to China were also made during 1963 by CPNZ National Secretariat member P.W.G. McARA, and by the senior CPNZ cadre in the NZ Peace Council Mrs F.W. GOULD. This last visit was significant in that the Chinese were attempting at this time to counteract Soviet influence in the World Council of Peace.

The ties with China were therefore becoming closer In September, WILCOX led a high ranking delegation to Moscow for discussions with the CPSU and was treated in a high-handed manner with the discussions ending in deadlock. WILCOX returned to New Zealand more than ever determined to ally the CPNZ with Peking. The opinions expressed by this delegation were subsequently published in a pamphlet entitled "NZ Party's Firm Stand". WILCOX returned via Indonesia and held cordial talks with PKI leaders.

The CPSU then attempted, through its peace and friendship fronts, to influence New Zealand Communists and sympathisers on the fringe of the Party. A World Council of Peace delegation of four Soviet Communists entered New Zealand in October 1963 under the pretext of being personal guests of the Soviet Charge d'Affaires in Wellington. This visit was part of a campaign by the Russians to strengthen the pro-Soviet elements in the World Council of Peace, particularly in countries where pro-Chinese opposition was being encountered, and it was immediately followed by a visit from a Soviet friendship group of two men who came to attend the 21st Anniversary of the NZ-USSR Society. Both these visits received widespread publicity in the New Zealand press.

EXAMINED 1 5/67 [redacted]

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In December 1963, E.F. HILL and his wife paid what was ostensibly a private visit to New Zealand. By this time HILL had started to form his breakaway political organisation in Australia and there seems little doubt that the purpose of his visit was to enlist CPNZ support in his struggle against the CPA and to open up formal links with the CPNZ. Several meetings were held with CPNZ leaders but all were on a strictly informal basis.

The year 1964 started with a visit to China by WILCOX and his wife. They returned via Indonesia. The desirability of fostering closer ties with the PKI had been discussed during HILL's visit, the idea being to draw up a Communist programme for South-East Asia which would appeal to the PKI and to HILL's group but which would serve to isolate the CPA. It had become evident during HILL's visit that the CPA was seeking bi-lateral talks with the CPNZ and that the intention of the CPNZ leaders, backed by HILL, was to endeavour to include the PKI in these talks. It would be reasonable to assume that these ideas were inspired by the CCP.

The bi-lateral talks with the CPA duly took place in April 1964 in Sydney. WILCOX led a delegation of three and the result was a joint statement of limited points on which the two Parties agreed, together with a separate statement by each Party on the ideological position. The CPNZ statement outlined the Party's basic ideological disagreement with the CPA and defended the meeting with HILL; the CPA statement attacked the meeting with HILL, the CPNZ policy of being prepared to meet and help all Marxist-Leninists, and the CPNZ position on social democracy. HILL's Party, which had been formed officially in late April, was not recognised by the CPNZ at this point as it was apparently felt that the time was not opportune. The results of these talks were sent to D.N. AIDIT, General Secretary of the PKI, by WILCOX.

The meeting did nothing to improve relations between the CPNZ and the CPA. That the CPA was disappointed by the talks was soon evidenced by the publication of a pamphlet entitled "Rebuild Trans-Tasman Communist Unity". The foreword mentioned that over the many years of the history of the two Parties relations had been warm and co-operative until 1962 when the attitude of the CPNZ leaders had changed considerably. The booklet bitterly attacked the CPNZ leadership and criticised WILCOX's interpretation in the ideological dispute. WILCOX's reply was contained in a booklet entitled "Foundations of Communist Unity".

During the discussions in Sydney a joint letter from WILCOX and Lawrence L. SHARKEY, General Secretary of the CPA, had been sent to the PKI suggesting that talks between the three Parties should be held in May. The PKI rejected the proposal for official tripartite talks in view of the schism in the Communist movement in Australia but they invited the CPA leaders to visit Indonesia separately - an invitation which was not accepted. A similar invitation was presumably extended to the CPNZ and in the event WILCOX visited Indonesia in early June. A joint communique was issued at the end of his talks with AIDIT which plainly supported the Chinese position in the Sino-Soviet dispute and called for the resumption of negotiations between the CCP and the CPSU. WILCOX on this occasion acted as a go-between as he brought back an urgent message from PKI secretary AIDIT for HILL in which AIDIT stressed the need for an early

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visit from HILL to Indonesia for official discussions. The refusal of the PKI to hold official tripartite talks angered the CPA and signalled a further deterioration in relations between the CPA and the CPNZ. Relations deteriorated still more when WILLIAMS, who attended the 20th Congress of the CPA in June, delivered a pro-Chinese address.

A significant visitor during late June 1964 was Chilean Communist Orlando MILLAS who came to New Zealand from Moscow for the purpose of contesting the position of the CPNZ leaders in the Sino-Soviet dispute. He was rebuffed by the CPNZ leadership and the only result of his visit was an agreement by the CPNZ to join the Chileans in protesting against French nuclear testing in the Pacific.

The 25th Anniversary celebrations of the "People's Voice" were held in July 1964 and were attended by representatives of the CPSU and PKI together with Alec ROBERTSON, editor of the CPA newspaper "Tribune", representing the CPA. Two Chinese had intended to come but were unable to get transit visas through Australia in time. However, such was the determination of the CCP to have its representatives in New Zealand on this occasion that the Chinese eventually arrived, albeit five days after the end of the celebrations. All these overseas visitors sought opportunities to put forward their own Party's views on the Sino-Soviet dispute and none more actively than ROBERTSON of the CPA. In particular ROBERTSON joined forces with a prominent Soviet Communist, Valentin MIKHAILOV, who was in New Zealand at this time using the cover of the Novosti press agency. These two visited pro-Soviet dissidents within the CPNZ, prepared lists of supporters and advised on tactics for the emerging pro-Soviet group.

Meantime, the two protagonists in the ideological dispute were moving closer to a showdown. This came to a head with the publication in April 1964 of SUSLOV's report on the splitting activities of the Chinese, followed by the CPSU announcement that it proposed to hold in December 1964 a preparatory meeting of representatives of the twenty-six fraternal Parties which had been members of the 1960 Drafting Commission, and that this meeting would make arrangements for a world conference in the following summer.

The CPNZ reacted to this proposal by passing a resolution at its National Committee meeting in July 1964 opposing an early meeting without adequate preparation and calling for a resumption of the talks between the Soviet and Chinese Parties and between the Soviet and New Zealand Parties. The resolution discussed what steps should be taken if the Soviet Union held a world conference without the necessary conditions being satisfied, and it was suggested that the CPNZ should approach other Parties opposed to an early meeting to discuss with them the attitude to be adopted about attendance. If the world conference was boycotted by pro-Chinese Communist Parties it was suggested that a multi-lateral meeting be held of those who held similar views to the CPNZ on world ideological issues. The resolution thus implied that a Peking-sponsored meeting might be able to get the support of Parties aligned with the Soviet Union but opposed to an early world conference.

11./ ...

This resolution was given front page treatment in an August edition of the official CCP paper, Jenmin Jih Pao. There followed widespread comment by foreign observers who inferred that the CPNZ had called for a meeting of pro-Chinese Parties, but there is no record of the CPNZ having ever initiated such a call. The text of the resolution was forwarded to the Central Committee of the CPSU in September 1964 and the opinion of CPNZ leaders was given that a hasty world meeting would split rather than unite.

It is of interest to note at this point that in August 1964 the CPSU published an article entitled "Who Will Benefit ?" which was a reply to WILCOX's pamphlet "NZ Party's Firm Stand" and to two speeches that he had delivered to Party Schools in China. "Who Will Benefit?", which was published in "Party Life", the organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU, constituted a biting personal attack on WILCOX, demolished statements made by him and high-lighted their inconsistencies. Copies of this document in pamphlet form were fairly widely distributed to Party members in New Zealand: they came from an anonymous source, presumably at the instigation of the CPSU. The fact that this effort of distribution was made and that the Russians found it necessary to devote 4,000 words to attacking the General Secretary of a Party of such relative insignificance as the CPNZ illustrates clearly the nuisance value that the CPNZ had acquired as a mouth-piece of Peking.

The removal from power of KHRUSHCHEV in October 1964 was heralded by the CPNZ leadership as a hopeful step in re-establishing the unity of the world movement, and when in November 1964 representatives of the CPSU and the CCP did hold discussions in Moscow at the time of the celebration of the October Revolution, it appeared that these hopes might be realised. Although at these discussions both sides clung obstinately to their respective points of view, the CPSU agreed to consider any proposals that the CCP might make for modifying the date of the preparatory meeting and its terms of reference if by so doing the CCP might agree to attend. The upshot was that the meeting was postponed until 1st March 1965 and the CPNZ was informed of this by letter from the CPSU in December 1964. The letter also stated that nineteen of the twenty-six Parties concerned were in favour of holding the meeting and added that as Australia would not now represent New Zealand, the CPNZ could, if it wished, make its point of view in writing or personally.

At the end of November 1964 and before the receipt of the letter from the CPSU, WILCOX paid a brief visit to Melbourne for informal discussions with the leaders of the CPA (M-L). According to the "People's Voice" of 9th December 1964, these discussions covered the possibility of the re-unification of the world movement in the light of KHRUSHCHEV's removal. The conclusion was reached that, although the possibilities were better than before, some problems remained and it was agreed that the fight must be carried on for principled unity based on Marxism-Leninism and on the 1957 Declaration and the Eighty-One Parties' Statement of 1960. It was also agreed that future discussions would be valuable. On 14th December 1964, two weeks after WILCOX had returned to New Zealand, the CPA (M-L) leader HILL sent one of his supporters to New Zealand for discussion with the CPNZ leaders. It is reasonable to assume that the subject discussed was the Soviet suggestion that the preparatory meeting be held in March 1965.

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The CPNZ reply to the CPSU letter was published in the "People's Voice" of 20th January 1965. In it the CPNZ stated that it considered that a meeting on 1st March did not give time for the essential bi-lateral talks to be resumed and completed, and it therefore pressed for a further postponement.

The next move in the ideological dispute as it concerned the CPNZ was made by the CCP which, in February 1965, invited WILCOX and his wife to China "for a visit or a rest", an invitation which the National Secretariat decided should be accepted as quickly as possible. In the event WILCOX left for China alone on 10th March 1965. The significance of this invitation lay in the fact that WILLIAMS had already gone to China for three months' medical treatment, and that HILL had also been summoned to Peking. It therefore appeared that the CCP was calling a conference of its supporters to counteract the nineteen Party meeting which had taken place as planned in Moscow on 1st March. While they were in Peking WILCOX and WILLIAMS cabled the New Zealand Party urging immediate analysis of the Moscow meeting communique which they claimed was intended to stir up further dispute; the reason for the call for immediate analysis was undoubtedly the desire of the CCP to make known as widely as possible throughout South-East Asia, its own and its supporters anti-Soviet attitude.

The CPNZ Political Committee met on 19th March 1965 and its statement on the nineteen Parties' meeting was published in the "People's Voice" of 31st March. The main conclusions were summarised in a document circulated to CPNZ members claiming that harm had been done to the Communist cause by the attempt of the CPSU to foist a meeting on the World Communist movement; that the communique was an attempt "under cover of soft words and Marxist-Leninist phrases" to create further disunity in the world movement; that the meeting made clear that the CPSU leaders and their supporters were determined to persist in their revisionist ideas; and that the practical effect of the meeting was to encourage imperialism to continue the war in Vietnam, to threaten China with attacks and to intensify suppression of national liberation struggle. The statement then called for a firm stand by the World Communist movement against any attack on any socialist country and, more specifically, for the CPNZ to work for the withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam. It also called for a greater effort in the struggle against revisionism within the world Parties - this being the road to the revolutionary unity of the movement. The split with Moscow had become final.

WILCOX returned from his March visit to China and reported to the Political Committee on 6th April 1965. By this time the Vietnam war had escalated as the first bombing attacks on North Vietnam had been launched on 7th February 1965, and argument was mounting within the Communist camp as to whether or not the Soviet Union was sending adequate aid to North Vietnam. The Chinese had accused the Soviet Union of putting too much emphasis on the principle of peaceful co-existence in its dealings with the US and the Russians had counter-attacked by stating that the Chinese were hindering the transit of Soviet aid to Vietnam. WILCOX maintained that the Soviet allegations were completely false. From this time on, Vietnam was to become one of the major topics in Sino-Soviet polemics and, as usual, the CPNZ leadership gave their wholehearted support to the Chinese.

One of the main subjects for discussion by the CPNZ hierarchy in the first half of 1965 was the desirability or otherwise of a formal and public recognition of the CPA (M-L) and this was ventilated during talks between WILCOX and HILL in Melbourne in April 1965. Unofficial liaison with the CPA (M-L) had been maintained since HILL's visit to New Zealand in November 1963, but WILCOX had been reluctant to sever relations entirely with the CPA by recognising the rival Party. Pressure, however, had been mounting within the CPNZ leadership, principally from Raphael NUNES, a member of the national Secretariat and a bitter opponent of the pro-Soviet G.E. JACKSON. As a result of this pressure it was arranged that HILL and F.T. JOHNSON, Secretary of the Central Committee CPA (M-L) should visit New Zealand in August 1965. A joint statement was issued on 1st September 1965 in which the CPA was condemned as "revisionist" and past agreements between the CPNZ and the CPA were revoked. The statement set out clearly the relationship between the CPNZ and the CPA (M-L) which was now one of final recognition, and thus it marked the virtual end of formal relations between the CPNZ and the CPA.

CPA reaction to these events was probably inspired by the CPSU. It took the form of a visit to New Zealand in July 1965 of Freda BROWN of the CPA who came to address meetings of the Union of New Zealand Women. Despite her public protestations to the contrary it was evident that the main purpose of her visit was to contact pro-Soviet personalities throughout the country. Up to this time the pro-Soviet groups in Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin had been acting as separate entities and JACKSON was finding it difficult to co-ordinate their activities. He had advisedly been proceeding with caution and was afraid of compromising himself by travelling around the country. Freda BROWN therefore performed this task on his behalf and she also visited the Soviet Legation in Wellington.

BROWN was followed in August 1965 by A.J. DOWLING, a CPA District Committee member. There are indications that he had been expressly chosen by his Party's Central Committee to sound out Gordon Harold ANDERSEN, at that time the CPNZ's leading trade unionist and a man with known pro-Soviet leanings. Four leading members of the pro-Soviet group in New Zealand then visited Australia in September 1965 and held discussions with CPA leaders, and the result was the formation, in February 1966, of the pro-Soviet Socialist Unity Party.

Closer links were being fostered at this time between the CPNZ and the Albanian Party of Labour. It has already been mentioned that WILLIAMS visited Albania in November 1962 and that an Albanian delegation was present at the 1963 National Conference of the CPNZ. In October 1965 WILCOX and Ronald TAYLOR, a senior CPNZ member, went to Albania for bi-lateral talks and a joint statement was signed. The CPNZ hoped that these links would be strengthened by the attendance of an Albanian delegation at the 1966 National Conference but the Albanians withdrew their visa applications because of procedural delays.

It had become evident by 1965 that the aim of the pro-Chinese Parties was to establish a kind of axis to include the CPNZ, CPA (M-L), PKI and CCP. However, this hope was shattered by the September 30th attempted coup d'etat in Indonesia and the subsequent disruption of the PKI. The reaction of CPNZ leaders

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was contained in a statement by WILCOX in the "People's Voice" of 3rd November, and in a Political Committee resolution published on 17th November and, such was their concern over these events, that they also found it necessary to issue a National Committee circular which was distributed to all Districts and Branches. All these statements followed the same pattern: encouragement to the PKI to resist with armed action and a call to all Marxist-Leninists to support the PKI, coupled with an attempt to lay part of the blame for the situation on the "revisionists" for their belief in the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism.

From this time, 30th September 1965, contact between the CPNZ and the PKI ceased until March 1966 when WILCOX, who was on a visit to China, met an Indonesian in Peking who was reported to be the current leader of the PKI outside Indonesia. During this meeting he promised to do what he could to get any information on the Indonesian situation that could be supplied to him published in the New Zealand press, but there is no evidence that such information is being sent at the present time. A message of greetings to the 1966 CPNZ National Conference was received from the PKI and it is reasonable to assume that this originated in Peking.

Efforts were also made by the CPNZ to establish some contact with other Marxist-Leninist parties and groups. There is no evidence of any direct contact with the Communist Party of Japan, but a delegation of four CPNZ members headed by NUNES, visited Japan in July 1964 to attend the 10th World Conference on Atom and Hydrogen Bombs. In April 1965 Rex Chell HOLLISS, sub-editor of the "People's Voice", visited China at the invitation of the "People's Daily" and returned via North Vietnam. His eyewitness account of what was taking place in North Vietnam formed the basis of CPNZ propaganda on Vietnam for the rest of 1965.

HOLLISS, in company with WILLIAMS, also visited North Korea and thus a link was made with the Korean Workers' Party. Correspondence took place during 1965 between the CPNZ and M.I. LASKI of the Communist Party of USA (Marxist-Leninist). This organisation, a Communist splinter group following a pro-Chinese line, operates the Workers International Bookstore in San Pedro, California, and it was agreed that an exchange of material should be arranged. Finally, an effort to widen contacts was made by the CPNZ in March 1966 when it solicited articles on the fight against modern revisionism from Japan, Belgium, Burma, Thailand, and India (the Kerala Party).

The CPNZ National Conference in April 1966 was attended by delegations from the CCP, CPA (M-L) and the Communist Party of Belgium. Invitations had also been sent to Japan, North Korea, North Vietnam and Albania. As has already been mentioned the Albanians withdrew their visa applications while the other three countries failed to send delegations. This was a disappointment to the CPNZ for which the receipt of fraternal greetings from the Communist Parties of Malaya, Burma, Japan, Ceylon, Thailand, North Korea and Indonesia was no compensation.

The events surrounding the invitation to the CPSU 23rd Congress at the end of March 1966 provide an interesting sidelight on the disproportionate influence of the CPNZ on the international scene. WILCOX had been in China prior to the receipt of this invitation and had learnt that the Chinese were considering accepting their invitation. He had made it plain to the Chinese that such an acceptance would be embarrassing to the CPNZ and a blow to all Marxist-Leninist Parties, particularly the new ones outside the eighty-one Parties, but the Chinese had remained indefinite. The CPNZ National Secretariat considered the CPSU invitation at a meeting on 22nd March and cabled the CCP that they intended replying that the CPNZ would not attend in view of the unsettled ideological differences and asking for the CCP's position. A reply from the CCP saying that they had decided not to attend the Congress was received on 23rd March and the CCP's strongly worded letter of rejection of the CPSU invitation was dated 22nd March. It is not unreasonable to assume that the CCP's refusal was due in some part to CPNZ influence.

Further in regard to the CPSU Congress, the Soviet Legation in Wellington took the unprecedented step on 23rd March of sending its Second Secretary to Auckland to see WILCOX and to pass a message from the Central Committee of the CPSU stressing the importance of unity in the world movement. WILCOX refused to see the Legation envoy on 23rd March and it was not until 24th March that the CPSU's message was passed to another member of the National Secretariat. Meanwhile the CPNZ had on 23rd March cabled its refusal to attend the Congress.

The completeness of the CPNZ's swing towards Peking can best be illustrated by considering the number of official visits paid by CPNZ members to China and Russia during the three years 1962/64. In 1962 there were six visits to Russia compared with thirteen to China; in 1963, six to Russia (of whom five were members of the delegation to the bi-lateral talks) and ten to China; and in 1964, none to Russia and thirteen to China.

Exploitation by Peking of the CPNZ position in the ideological dispute was evident throughout the period under review. The most obvious example was the use made of the CPNZ stand in regard to the nineteen Parties' meeting, but prior to that the CPNZ had lent absolute support to the CCP on the question of Indonesia's withdrawal early in 1965 from the United Nations with WILLIAMS echoing Peking's demand for the creation of a rival world organisation. The arrest of pro-Chinese Communists by the Indian Government in December 1964 produced scathing condemnation from the "People's Voice", while the victory, at the end of 1964, of pro-Peking Communists at the Kerala elections was heralded by WILCOX as "a great victory for the genuine working class". CPNZ publications, particularly the theoretical journal "NZ Communist Review", were increasingly used for the publication of eulogistic articles on the CCP and of excerpts from the Peking Review, and this type of exploitation for propaganda purposes continues to the present time.

As has been seen, CPSU reaction to this exploitation has consisted mainly of sending, under one pretext or another, various prominent Soviet Communists to New Zealand. It may also be of significance that the choice for the new Soviet Minister to New Zealand in March 1965 fell on Boris Y. DOROFEEV. DOROFEEV had been First Secretary in Australia from 1961-63 and it was during this period that the CPA reverted to its pro-Soviet stand. While in Australia DOROFEEV established close touch with the Trade Union movement and he has done the same in New Zealand. He has also had contact with defected or expelled CPNZ members and has lent support to the Socialist Unity Party.

16./ ...

30,000/2/64—81002 W

At the time of writing, November 1966, the CPNZ is totally committed to Peking and, as this commitment provides the Party with a modicum of prestige, it will doubtless continue on this course. For its part the CCP, which needs all the support it can muster, will certainly do its utmost to boost and strengthen the CPNZ.

17./ ...

~~SECRET~~

CS   21/2/26

D.O.A.: CO   6th July 1966

CPNZ - 23rd Congress of CPSU

1. You will be interested to hear that [redacted] have conveyed to us very grateful thanks for the sight of a report which we sent them in March 1966 concerning the consultation between the CPNZ and the CCP on the question of accepting the Soviet invitation to the 23rd Congress. [redacted] says that our report gave the only direct evidence known to them of the thinking of the Chinese on the question of accepting or refusing the invitation.

[redacted]

DESPATCHED
7 - JUL 1966
Encl [redacted]

[illegible]
4 10 60 [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26.

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21/2/12.

THE CPNZ NATIONAL CONFERENCE 1966

INTRODUCTION

1. The 21st National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand (CPNZ) was held in Auckland during the Easter weekend from Friday 8th April - Monday 11th April, 1966, inclusive. This paper summarises and comments on the events and decisions arising from the Conference, with particular emphasis on the following subjects: -

....

COMMENT ON OVERSEAS REPRESENTATION AT THE CONFERENCE

13. It is apparent (from para. 5 above) that only Marxist-Leninist Parties were invited to attend or to send fraternal greetings. The 1966 Conference was the first occasion on which the CPNZ did not invite either the CPA, with whom they had held a close relationship for many years, or the CPSU. The CPNZ's pro-Chinese stand became clear at its 1963 Conference, since when it has issued several anti-Soviet and anti-CPA statements, culminating with the bilateral agreement drawn up in September 1965 with the CPA (M-L).

14. WILCOX took the opportunity, during an NZBC radio/television interview on his return from China on 16th March 1966, to announce publicly that the Soviet Party was not being invited. This open rebuff of the CPSU and CPA leaves the CPNZ totally committed to the Chinese Party line, and any renewed liaison between the CPNZ and the CPSU or CPA must presumably depend upon an improvement of relations between the CCP and the CPSU.

....

28th June, 1966.

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26

~~SECRET~~

DOA [redacted] 26/29.4.66

HQ (CS) 11.5.66 21/2/19

CPNZ RELATIONS WITH SOVIET LEGATION - Reaction to death of L.A. SLABOV

When H.A. OSTLER queried whether the CPNZ should do anything about L.A. SLABOV's death R. NUNES commented that he did not feel like doing anything as the Party had severed connections and it was not as though SLABOV had been a person of any note in the Soviet Union.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26

~~SECRET~~

D.O.A. [redacted] 24/25.3.66

HQ (CS) 5.4.1966 21/2/19

GPNZ CONTACT WITH SOVIET LEGATION.

1. At the National Secretariat meeting held on 24 March 1966, R. NUNES reported that he had called at L.N. SLABOV's (PF) hotel the previous evening only to find that SLABOV was not in. He mentioned that he had seen Mrs Irene D. BUTLER (PF) and another woman in close proximity to the Hotel but had not seen them enter. Nunes thought this may have been a coincidence but considered it suspicious. Harold A. OSTLER (PF) recalled that a meeting of the Union of NZ Women had been held the previous evening and there was some speculation among the Secretariat as to whether SLABOV had attended this meeting or whether he had been to a meeting of the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand.

2. NUNES then reported that he had seen SLABOV prior to attending the Secretariat meeting and all SLABOV had said was that the CPSU Central Committee wished to stress that unity was very important at this time. NUNES said that he had given SLABOV a copy of the CPNZ cable to the CPSU declining the invitation to attend the 23rd Congress.

3. The Secretariat were pleased that the CPNZ statement received press and broadcasting coverage as it was agreed that they could not now be accused to blindly following the Chinese line. The Secretariat noted that, to date, the Chinese statement on the 23rd Congress had not been included in the NZ session from Peking Radio.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFICATION:

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Copy No.
of copies
(T.S. only)

From DOA
Our File: [redacted] of 21/25.3.66
To HQ (CS) Date 4.4.66 Your File: 21/2/26 of

SUBJECT: CPNZ RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOVIET UNION - 23rd Congress

1. Source was present when R. NUNES contacted the local press and broadcasting services to issue a CPNZ statement which said that the NZ Party had declined an invitation to attend the CPSU 23rd Congress. Discussing the Congress, surprise was expressed that L.L. SHARKEY (PF) was not a member of the CPA delegation to Moscow.

2. On 22.3.66 source reported that the following cable was despatched to the Central Committee of China:

> "CPNZ has received invitation to CPSU 23rd Congress. Intend replying that ideological differences unsettled and attendance would mutually embarrass. Will not attend. What is your position? - WILCOX, General Secretary, CPNZ."

3. On 23.3.66 a reply to this cable was received from Peking, reading:

> "Cable received. We decided not to attend. Will broadcast required letter to them on 23rd".

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

File: 21/2/26
Copies: 21/45/10
21/2/27

[redacted] 3/4

CLASSIFICATION:

31 3 66

21/2/26
R.516

[redacted]

CPNZ REFUSES INVITATION TO MOSCOW 23RD CONGRESS

1.	You may be interested in the steps leading up to the CPNZ's refusal of the invitation to attend the 23rd Congress of the CPSU in Moscow beginning 29th March 1966.

2.	On 22nd March 1966 the CPNZ National Secretariat considered the Moscow invitation. V.G. WILCOX stated that he had learnt, whilst in China earlier in the month, that the Chinese were considering accepting their invitation as they were inclined to think such a move would be tactically wise. He said that he had made it plain to the Chinese that the CPNZ would find it embarrassing if the Chinese accepted the invitation because such an acceptance would be a blow to all Marxist/Leninist Parties, particularly to those new Parties who were outside the "81 Parties". The Chinese had advised WILCOX that any refusal from the CPNZ should be couched in polite terms. WILCOX suggested to the CPNZ Secretariat that they should cable to China asking what they proposed to do and that they should send their answer to the CPSU in the light of the reply from China. The Secretariat was of the opinion that the CPNZ should refuse to attend on the grounds of ideological differences. A cable was then sent to China, reading:

> "CPNZ has received invitation to CPSU 23rd Congress. Intend replying that ideological differences unsettled and attendance would mutually embarrass. Will not attend. What is your position".

3.	On the morning of 23rd March 1966, the CPNZ received a cable from Peking, reading:

> "Cable received. We decided not to attend. Will broadcast required letter to them on 23rd".

As you will be aware the Central Committee of the CCP sent a letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU on 22nd March rejecting the invitation in very strong terms. We became aware of this on seeing the report of the Peking broadcast of their reply to the CPSU.

4.	On the afternoon of 23rd March L. SLABOV, Second Secretary of the Soviet Legation in Wellington, arrived at the CPNZ National Office in Auckland and stated that he wished to see V. WILCOX who was not present at the National Office. SLABOV was informed that WILCOX was otherwise engaged for the next two days and no arrangements were made for him to meet WILCOX although SLABOV said that he was prepared to wait for three days to see him. Soon after SLABOV had left the National Office it was decided to cable a refusal of the invitation to the CPSU at once and the following cable was despatched:

> "Central Committee, Communist Party of Soviet Union, Moscow: Thank you for your invitation to send fraternal delegate from CPNZ to your 23rd Congress. After Consideration we must regretfully decline in view of outstanding ideological differences not yet

/2 ...

> dealt with in a Marxist-Leninist manner which exist between our two Parties and between the leadership of the CPSU and a number of other fraternal Parties standing firm on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and rejecting the insidious ideas of modern revisionism. In view of this consider no useful purpose would be served by our attendance. In fact attendance would be embarrassing to us and possibly to you. May we extend greetings to the membership of the CPSU with the wish that your proceedings will be based on those Marxist principles so brilliantly expounded in theory and conducted in practice by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Fraternally yours, V.G. WILCOX, General Secretary on behalf of Political Committee, CPNZ."

The CPNZ immediately informed the NZBC that they had declined the invitation to Moscow and this was announced on the NZBC News on the morning of 24th March.

5. On the morning of 24th March 1966, a member of the National Secretariat saw SLABOV briefly at his motel and SLABOV informed this member that he had come to see WILCOX because the Central Committee of the CPSU wished to stress that unity was very important at this time.

[redacted]

31st March 1966

[redacted]

D.

To see. [redacted] 4.4.66.

DESPATCHED
1 APR 1966
Encl.

Copies on 21/45/10 & 21/2/27

21/2/26.

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE" Newspaper.

Published at Auckland, on [date] 30 March 1966

SUBJECT:

C.P.N.Z. declines Soviet invitation

The Communist Party of New Zealand has declined an invitation to send a delegate to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (The Japanese and Albanian Parties have also declined.)

The reply to the invitation was conveyed by the New Zealand Party's General Secretary, Mr. V. G. Wilcox, in a message sent on March 23 on behalf of the Party's Political Committee. The full text of the reply is as follows:

"Thank you for your invitation to send a fraternal delegate from N.Z. to your 23rd Congress.

"After consideration, we must regretfully decline, in view of outstanding ideological differences—not yet dealt with in a Marxist-Leninist manner—which exist between our two Parties and between the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and a number of other fraternal Parties standing firm on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and rejecting the insidious ideas of modern revisionism.

"In view of this, we consider that no useful purpose would be served by our attendance. In fact, our attendance would be embarrassing to us and possibly to you.

"May we extend greetings to the membership of the C.P.S.U., with the wish that your proceedings will be based on those Marxist principles so brilliantly expounded in theory and conducted in practice by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

ITEM 509]

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26

D.O.A. [redacted] 22.3.66

HQ (CS) 30.3.1966 21/45/10

CPSU CONGRESSES - 23rd Congress - CPNZ in Receipt of Invitation.

1. At the National Secretariat meeting held on 22 March 1966, V.G. WILCOX reported that an invitation had been recently received by the CPNZ to attend the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. He considered that the fact that an invitation had been received showed that the CPSU were not prepared at the present time to wipe the CPNZ out of the World Movement. There were, however, some unsatisfactory factors in the present situation in that North Vietnam abd Korea would probably send delegates; he was doubtful about the Japanese, but he knew that the Chinese were considering going as they were inclined to think such a move would be tactically wise. WILCOX said that he and OSTLER had made it plain to the Chinese that the CPNZ would find it extremely embarrassing if the Chinese accepted the invitation - such an acceptance would be a blow to all Marxist-Leninist Parties but particularly to those new Parties who were outside the 81 Parties. He suggested that a cable be sent immediately to China asking what they proposed to do and that they should send their answer to the CPSU in the light of the reply from China. He considered that, regardless, they should refuse the invitation and that theycould refuse on the grounds that the time was short and that the National Conference of the CPNZ was close at hand.

2. Ray NUNES disagreed strongly on the point of using the National Conference and the lateness of the invitation as an excuse for not attending. He considered that they must take their stand on the ideological aspect; the CPNZ had not invited the CPSU to the National Conference because the CPSU leadership was opportunist and revisionist; therefore, to be consistent, the CPNZ must openly give this reason for their refusal. WILCOX commented that it was important tactically for New Zealand to remain within the framework of the 81 Parties and he added that the Chinese had asked that any refusal from the CPNZ should be couched in polite terms. It was decided that a draft cable to the CPSU should be prepared in time for the Secretariat to discuss at its meeting on Thursday, 24th March, and meantime the following cable was to be sent to China: -

> "CPNZ has received invitation to CPSU 23rd Congress Intend replying that ideological differences unsettled and attendance would mutually embarrass. Will not attend. What is your position."

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26

~~SECRET~~

D.O.A. [redacted] 14-18.3.66

HQ (CS) 29.3.1966 21/45/10

CPSU CONGRESSES - 23rd Congress.

When R. NUNES heard that it had been reported that China was to attend the 23rd Congress of the CPSU he maintained that the Soviet Union had announced this information simply to deceive countries like New Zealand and he said that the Chinese had not even received an invitation.

B.2.

H.Q. COMMENT: Events have now proved "know-all" NUNES wrong.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26

CS.3. P.F.

CS.1. 22.3.1966

Kenneth G. DOUGLAS - Contact with S.N. SEMENENKO.

Source has reported that K.G. DOUGLAS asked S.N. SEMENENKO, Second Secretary at the Soviet Legation, to call at his office on 17 February 1966 in order to discuss some questions relating to the sponsoring of a touring athletic team by Rothman's N.Z. Ltd.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted] (Report of 17 February 1966).

[redacted]

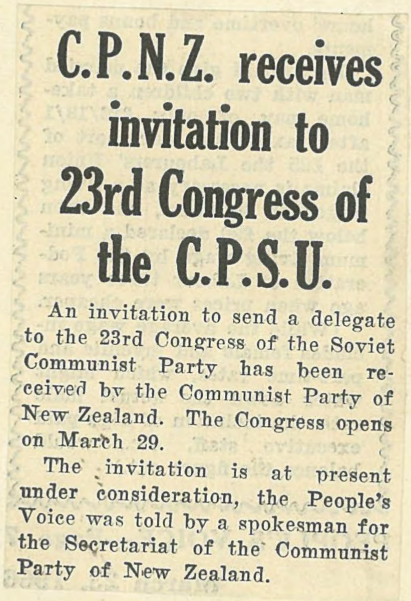
~~SECRET~~

21/2/26.

Extract from "PEOPLE'S VOICE" **Newspaper.**

Published at Auckland, **on [date]** 23 March 1966

SUBJECT:



C.P.N.Z. receives invitation to 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U.

An invitation to send a delegate to the 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party has been received by the Communist Party of New Zealand. The Congress opens on March 29.

The invitation is at present under consideration, the People's Voice was told by a spokesman for the Secretariat of the Communist Party of New Zealand.

21/2/26

[redacted]

D.O.A. [redacted] 4-22.2.66

HQ (CS) 7.3.1966 21/2/50

NZ PRO-SOVIET COMMUNIST GROUP - General.

1. V.G. WILCOX told source that the JACKSON group had held a meeting in the Labourers Hall recently and that he had been informed that a number of Yugoslavs had attended. WILCOX agreed with the comment that had been made to his wife that the Yugoslavs were bound to wreck any organisation. WILCOX also agreed with his wife when she said that she had been told that the JACKSON Group would get a lot of money from the Yugoslavs as they were all very generous. WILCOX said that the Group would not be short of money and that JACKSON must have been getting money for a number of years but this did not necessarily mean that it would continue - time would tell on this point.

2. WILCOX spoke of the statement in the local evening paper which, with the use of the word "internationally", amounted to continued recognition of the CPNZ, would be a blow to the new Group He considered that the Soviet people in New Zealand, probably acting on instructions from MIKOYAN, had realised that they must draw their horns in. He did not think that the Soviet Union would dare to hold an international meeting and include a NZ Group which was not recognised constitutionally. He said that the CPNZ was one of the 81 Parties and was internationally recognised and if they were not present and the other group was, the Chinese, Burmese, North Koreans, even the Vietnamese, the Thais, and of course the Albanians - who would not go anyway - would refuse to attend.

3. WILCOX told source that an interesting sidelight on things connected with the Party was that Harold KAY (PF), the Secretary of the Labourers' Union, thought that G.H. ANDERSEN had done a terrible thing. WILCOX agreed that, though ANDERSEN and KAY were friends, KAY was threatening to try to find a way out of the amalgamation of the two Unions. WILCOX Did not think this would be possible as the situation was already too far advanced. WILCOX described ANDERSEN as a bureaucrat and an empire builder. WILCOX said that KAY had been to China three times and, unlike ANDERSEN, was greatly impressed with what he had seen. WILCOX likened KAY to Frederick A. HACK (PF) who had been greatly impressed by his visit to China.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

21/2/26.

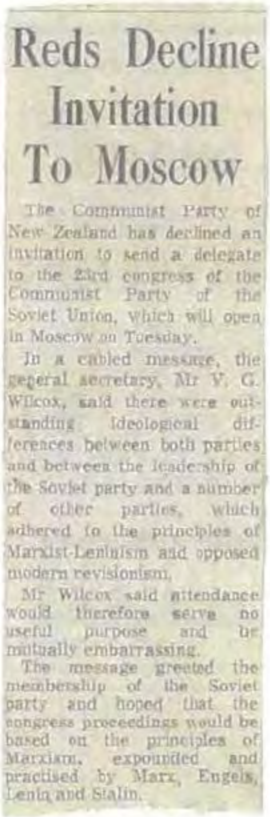
Extract from "N.Z. Herald" *Newspaper.*

Published at Auckland, *on [date]* 26 February 1966

SUBJECT: C.P.N.Z.

HQ

RECEIVED
24 MAR 1966



Reds Decline Invitation To Moscow

The Communist Party of New Zealand has declined an invitation to send a delegate to the 23rd congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which will open in Moscow on Tuesday.

In a cabled message, the general secretary, Mr V. G. Wilcox, said there were outstanding ideological differences between both parties and between the leadership of the Soviet party and a number of other parties, which adhered to the principles of Marxist-Leninism and opposed modern revisionism.

Mr Wilcox said attendance would therefore serve no useful purpose and be mutually embarrassing.

The message greeted the membership of the Soviet party and hoped that the congress proceedings would be based on the principles of Marxism, expounded and practised by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Cl./

[redacted] ile.

[redacted]

Photostat copy to 21/45/10 ✓
21/2/2 [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/~~COPY~~

From (source): DOA

Reference: [redacted]

Date: 23.2.66

For File No. 21/2/26

Original on PF (WILCOX, V.G.)

Received on

Extracted/~~Copied by~~ [redacted]

On 2.3.1966

SUBJECT: V.G. WILCOX - General

1. On the 29.1.66 V.G. WILCOX invited Jock FOULDS to accompany himself and R.L. ANDERSON who was staying with him to visit Huapai and Riverhead. .....

3. During a general discussion with ANDERSON and source several items of interest were noted:

4. Source reports that with the obvious objective of impressing his visitors WILCOX went on to relate various incidents which depicted the Soviet Union in a bad light. WILCOX, with heavy sarcasm, spoke of his "friend" Boris (B.Y. DOROFEEV PF) summoning him to Wellington to receive a message from Comrade A.I. MIKOYAN. This message had assured the CPNZ that it would always be recognised by the CPSU in spite of differences and that money would be available when ever it was needed. At the same time an assurance was given that there would never be a recurrence of the SKILTON affair but within two weeks of his visit to the Legation, E.W. HUNTER (PF) had been invited to the Soviet Union. Asked if the CPNZ had challenged the Legation on this matter WILCOX said that they had challenged them by refusing to send a delegation until the Legation had explained its actions, since when they had heard nothing.

HQ's Comment: In regard to the invitation for a delegation to visit the Soviet Union, WILCOX appears to have altered the story to place a different aspect on the situation (a) to impress his visitors (b) to show himself in a better light. It is on record that, at a National Secretariat meeting in July 1965, WILCOX suggested that R.G. HEGMAN (PF) should lead the delegation, travel arrangements were discussed and approved. When R. NUNES was informed of the Secretariat decision he took the strongest exception to the acceptance of the invitation, over-riding WILCOX's explanation that the invitation had been received some 15 months previous, and the matter was deferred until a fuller discussion had taken place. J.A. MANSON was to inform the Soviet Legation that there was a slight delay meantime. It is well-known that the CPSU are adverse to paying wages for members of visiting delegations and it has been generally understood that this has been the reason for the delay in accepting this and other invitations.

5. WILCOX spoke of the rottenness and corruption that was rife in the international movement and to prove his point related his own case as an example. He stated that although it was not possible to prove his story, had he been open to bribery he could now be worth £100,000. He explained that the proposition had been put to him, at a special meeting, in a personal conversation. WILCOX said that it was to his eternal credit that he immediately reported the incident to the CPNZ National Committee. WILCOX added that G.E. JACKSON had been present when the proposition had been put to him and he had never batted an eyelid. WILCOX said that in the case of M.H. WILLIAMS, who had been given £500 to spend on himself, the Party did have proof as WILLIAMS had brought the money back to New Zealand and had presented it to the Party at a National Committee meeting. Although admitting that in WILLIAMS' case they had proof, he said that they were not in a position for it to become public knowledge and the only thing to do was to stand firm.

B.2. SOURCE: [redacted] [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

Copy to: 21/2/26
21/2/19

21/41/3
R.405

[redacted]

[redacted]

CPNZ RELATIONS WITH THE CPSU

Referance our R.334 of 16th July 1965.

We have now received an unconfirmed report that the CPNZ will not send a delegation to the USSR in 1965.

[redacted]

18th October 1965

[redacted]

[redacted]

DESPATCHED
19 OCT 1965
Encl.

DESPATCHED
20 OCT 1965
Encl.

Publicly released under the NZSIS Declassifica[redacted]icy

G.D.D.—16

File Ref: 21/2/26

CROSS REFERENCE

For File No.

Title:

Further relevant information re: Seamen's Union delegation (B. Jacobson + J.S. Harcus) leaving NZ on 8/10/65 to visit USSR.

is filed in file No. 40/64/1

as folio No.

Date: 4/10/65

Cross reference made by

Initials: [redacted]

Section: CS1

Date: 4/10/64.

50 pads/5/59—8359 W

21/2/26

[redacted]

D.O.A. [redacted] 6-8.9.65
HQ (CS) 29.9.1965 21/2/5

CPNZ NATIONAL SECRETARIAT MEETING of 8 September 1965.

1. A meeting of the National Secretariat was held on Wednesday 8th September, 1965. Those present included Ray NUNES, John FOULDS and Joyce M. EWEN, all (PF). Items of interest mentioned at this meeting were as follows: -

2. CPNZ Delegation to Russia. The Secretariat postponed discussing this matter pending advice from V.G. WILCOX.

3. India-Pakistan Situation. Source reports that from the discussion it was clear that the CPNZ's sympathies lie with Pakistan.

4. Apartheid. The Auckland CP District were to be encouraged, through financial assistance from the CP National Centre, to undertake the best possible protest activity with regard to the final Springbok/All Blacks Rugby Test to be played in Auckland.

5. Secretariat Meeting on 22 September 1965. There is to be a full-day Secretariat meeting on Wednesday 22nd September. The agenda will include plans for the 1966 CPNZ National Conference.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

G.D.D. 11

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/COPY

From (source):	CS.3.	Reference:	[redacted]	Date:	24.8.65
For File No.	21/2/26				
Original on	21/2/6				
Received on		Extracted/Copied by	[redacted]	On	2.9.65

SUBJECT: CPNZ - Political Committee Meeting.

1. When he returned on 18th August, 1965, from the CPNZ Political Committee meeting, John A. MANSON outlined briefly to Rona BAILEY matters he had discussed when in Auckland.

2. Overseas Delegations:

......

(c) To the Soviet Union: MANSON advised that the Soviet invitation for a delegation to visit the Soviet Union would not be accepted for a while, and rather inferred that it may not be accepted at all.

......

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted] of 18 August 1965.

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/~~COPY~~

From (source): C.S. Reference: Date: 24.9.65

For File No. 21/2/26

Original on 21/2/3

Received on Extracted/~~Copied~~ by [redacted] On 12.10.65

SUBJECT: MEETING OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE CPNZ, 24/25 July 1965.

1. A meeting of the National Committee of the CPNZ was held on 24/25 July 1965, at Union House, corner of Galatos and West Streets, Auckland.

****

General Secretary's Report: (This was read by V.G. WILCOX).

****

DISCUSSION:

****

REPLY BY V.G. WILCOX:

174. WILCOX discussed relations with the CPSU. He reported on his visit with MANSON to the Soviet Legation when a message had been given to him from MIKOYAN - he still could not remember the name of the other signatory to this message - and when he had been assured by the Legation that it was thought that A.B. SKILTON was acting under CPNZ authority. He had also been assured that, if ever the Party was in any financial difficulty, the Central Committee would be able to help. It had been explained that the foreign exchange difficulties of previous years no longer applied. He added that this all sounded very good but that now "they have invited ex-Comrade HUNTER to go to Moscow". He left the National Committee members to think for themselves what this implied. An invitation had also been received for a delegation of three to visit the Soviet Union and, owing to the availability of foreign exchange, it was now possible for the wages of this delegation to be paid. This invitation was still under consideration.

.....

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26

Intra-party War Nearing Crisis

("Christchurch Star" 24/8/65)

Wellington "Star" Reporter

WITH the arrival in Auckland of two top-level pro-Chinese Australian Communists, it is believed that the intra-party war is now gradually approaching a crisis. They are Mr E. F. (Ted) Hill, leader of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), and Mr F. Johnson, one of his moderately senior lieutenants.

Their visit is part of the continuing and intensifying battle within the New Zealand Communist Party between those who back the pro-Chinese alignment enforced by the party's leaders, and those who would prefer the party to align itself with Russian policies of peaceful co-existence.

In Christchurch, the unrealistic pro-Chinese policy of the national leaders has reduced the party to about twenty-five members.

The Christchurch branch, in spite of its small membership, has Mr Ralph Hegman, of Auckland, as full-time functionary.

Only Eight

In Greymouth, formerly a hot-bed of Communist sympathy, there are only eight party members left.

Resentment has also grown among party members in Christchurch and Wellington because leaders like Messrs Victor Wilcox and Mervyn Williams, general secretary and president respectively of the Communist Party of New Zealand, have become so bound-up with their own importance in the international set-up, that junior officers are handling the day-to-day running of the party.

Such members think that the "real need"—getting out to the workers—is being ignored by the leadership.

The Last

The party is also losing ground among the unions. The most influential Communist in trade union circles, Mr G. H. Andersen, of Auckland, in the Drivers' Union, is the last pro-Soviet man left on the national committee of the party.

It will depend on the outcome of the current battles whether he is "one of the next to go."

Recent events which illustrate the disruption caused by the pro-Chinese policies of the leadership include:

Own Party

- The defection from the party of seven prominent Christchurch members led by Mr Frank McNulty, and Mr James Callaghan, who now publish their own paper, the "Worker."
- The expulsion of the whole thirteen members of the Dunedin branch in June this year.
- The expulsion of Mr George Jackson, one time chairman of the Communist Party of New Zealand, from its national committee and political committee last month.
- The recent expulsion of Mr A. B. Skilton, formerly national organiser and leading Auckland member, because he visited the Soviet Union last year — without party authority. The party believed he was carrying out negotiations in Russia, and he had obviously gone with the knowledge of the Soviet Legation in Wellington.
- This caused a crisis in relations between the party and the Legation. The party has issued a special instruction that members must not have any contact with the Legation without express authority from the national office.
- The resignation of Mr T. W. Feary, long-time party stalwart in Wellington, who holds staunch pro-Soviet views. His vituperative resignation letter was copied and widely circulated by the Christchurch defectors.
- More puzzling was the resignation last month of Mr P. W. G. McAra, till then national organiser and member of the Selection National Secretariat.

Mr McAra gave old age as his reason. He is a hale and hearty 60 years old, where other leaders are visibly wilting under the strain.

To China

Mr Williams has gone to China for V.I.P. medical treatment, and Mr Wilcox has also had time off for health reasons.

Mr McAra has not resigned entirely from the party, only from his paid full-time posts, but party members are wondering whether the pro-Chinese policies, personality clashes or some other reason was the real cause.

Mr Hill last visited New Zealand in December, 1963, when speculation suggested that he was aiming at a pro-Chinese "Australasian international."

Since then Mr Wilcox and Mr Williams have repeatedly visited Australia, where Mr Hill is believed to have been one of their main contacts.

Only Once

However, they met the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Australia only once in that period, for an acrimonious discussion last year.

After this visit, the C.P.A. attacked their policies in a pamphlet "Rebuilding Transtasman Communist Unity."

The Communist Party of New Zealand retorted with a pro-Chinese rejoinder called "Foundations of Communist Unity." The Soviet Union joined in with its own pamphlet, attacking the pro-Chinese Wilcox policies.

All these pamphlets were widely distributed in New Zealand last year.

Signs

Many signs have been apparent that the intra-party war is hotting up. Last year, for example, Russian journalist Valentin Mikailov and Mr Alec Robertson, a Central Committee official of the Communist Party of Australia, teamed up to visit New Zealand in order to get in touch with pro-Soviet members of the Communist Party of New Zealand.

Mrs Freda Brown, another C.P.A. Central Committee member, visited New Zealand last month.

The New Zealand party's pro-Chinese leaders have been alarmed at the wide-ranging contacts she achieved with pro-Soviet elements and groups which have already broken away from the local Communist Party.

Expelled

She stayed in Dunedin with Mr E. W. Hunter, a former leader of the Dunedin Communist Party branch which was expelled in toto from the party in June for pro-Soviet sympathies.

The party leadership has now sent Mrs L. Rita Smith to Dunedin on a salary of about £1000 a year, in an attempt to found a new pro-Chinese branch there—but, as far as is known, she is the only party member left in the city.

Meantime, the Communist Party of New Zealand continues to be one of the gems in Peking's crown—the only Western and English-speaking party which is aligned with China. And China gives Messrs Wilcox and Williams enormous publicity in her battle with Russia for influence.

Axis

A growing trend has been evident towards a kind of axis which includes the Communist Party of New Zealand, Mr Hill's party in Australia, the Indonesian Communist Party, and Peking.

In 1964, Mr Wilcox spoke so vehemently in favour of confrontation in Indonesia, that the New Zealand Government's office there felt compelled to release a statement showing the extent of the party's real support in New Zealand.

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/~~COPY~~

From (source): DOA Reference: AK/10/1 Date: 18.8.1965

For File No. 21/2/26

Original on 21/2/6

Received on Extracted/~~Copied by~~ [redacted] On 7.9.1965

SUBJECT: POLITICAL COMMITTEE, CPNZ

1. A meeting of the Political Committee of the CPNZ was held at R.C. WOLF's house on Tuesday, 17th August 1965.

....

8. V.G. WILCOX touched on the invitation from the Soviet Union for a visit from a New Zealand delegation and on the problem of what sort of a delegation to send if the invitation was accepted. The CPNZ could not at the time afford to send a top-level delegation but on the other hand it was essential to send people who would not be unduly influenced by a visit to the Soviet Union.

....

D.6.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

For Information of CS.

G.D.D. 11

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/~~COPY~~

From (source): [redacted] Reference: Date: 5 August 1965
For File No. 21/2/26
Original on [redacted]
Received on Extracted/~~Copied by~~ [redacted] On 5 Aug. 1965

SUBJECT: CPNZ AND SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

...

Source said that when Evgeniva Ivanovna KARDASH collected her repaired watch, just before 3rd August 1965, they had a discussion about the CPNZ and the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute. Source said to KARDASH that he could not understand why the CPNZ favoured the Chinese, and KARDASH said that someone was arriving in New Zealand very soon and that this person would attempt to woo the CPNZ back to an affiliation with the Soviet Union.

...

SOURCE: [redacted]

COMMENT BY CS: This seems to be an extremely indiscreet remark for a member of the Soviet Legation to make. It is, however, possible that KARDASH was referring to Galina Aleksandrovna KHUDOZHNIKOVA. who arrived on 3.8.65.

~~SECRET~~

Copy for 21/2/26.

~~SECRET~~

DOA
HQ (CS) 5.8.1965

AK/4/15
21/2/21

CPNZ RELATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

1. At the National Secretariat meeting held on 22nd July 1965, the following recommendations and decisions were made:

2. Delegation to China - October: R.G. HEGMAN was considered for the position as leader of this delegation but due to difficulties experienced in the past between him and G.H. ANDERSEN, the Secretariat decided that J.A. MANSON, Wellington District Secretary, should lead this delegation.

3. Delegation to Albania: The following is the text of a cable sent by the CPNZ to the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, Tirana: "Accept with pleasure your invitation send delegation headed WILCOX for bilateral Party discussion. Will arrive first week October as suggested. Letter following. WILCOX, General Secretary, CPNZ".

Discussing this matter it was decided that R. TAYLOR (PF) should be approached to accompany V.G. WILCOX on the delegation; second choice would fall to D. McEWEN. It was realised by the Secretariat that with MANSON leader of the Chinese delegation, R. BAILEY could not be spared by the Wellington District.

4. Moscow Delegation: This delegation was to be discussed when R. NUNES attended meetings as a member of the National Secretariat. Failing agreement on this matter by the Secretariat, it would then be discussed at a Political Committee meeting.

5. Roumanian Congress: V.G. WILCOX considered that it was important for the "People's Voice" to give publicity to this Conference in view of the fact that the CP of China had been invited to a European Congress for the first time since the East German Congress in 1962. He also considered it significant that the Albanian Party of Labour and the Venezuelan CP had also been invited. WILCOX described the latter as "the road to South America and the road to the South Pacific".

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26

21/2/19

CS.3.

CS.1. 2.8.1965

CPNZ - RELATIONS WITH SOVIET LEGATION

1. In a conversation with Rona BAILEY, John A. MANSON told her that the National Secretariat had instructed him to call at the Soviet Legation to "read them a sort of speech" and that he was to take BAILEY with him as a witness. He later advised BAILEY that the appointment had been made, through R.L. ANDERSON of the Modern Bookshop, for 10.30 a.m. on Tuesday, 27th July 1965.

2. When discussing the purpose of the visit, MANSON mentioned the ideological differences and the trip to the Soviet Union of A.B.SKILTON; he said that the explanation of the Legation in this instance had been accepted. He said that V.G. WILCOX had reported at the recent National Committee meeting that it had become known that the Legation had been in some way (unknown to source) involved with E.W. HUNTER.

3. MANSON was to lodge the disapproval of the CPNZ and ask for an explanation. He was to say that the NZ comrades were shocked and dismayed at the behaviour of the Soviet comrades, and to point out that WILCOX had accepted their word and had been let down.

4. With regard to the proposed NZ delegation to the Soviet Union, MANSON was to advise that this matter was still under discussion. It appeared that the matter of HUNTER could have delayed the decision on the delegation.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted] [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

21/7/26

DOA
HQ (CS) 30.7.1965

AK/4/15
21/2/19

CPNZ RLEATIONS WITH SOVIET LEGATION - Delegation to Moscow

1. At the National Secretariat meeting held on 15th July 1965, V.G. WILCOX said that a short announcement should be published in the next issue of the "P.V." to the effect that an open invitation for a delegation of 3 persons to visit Russia had been received from the CPSU. It was decided that the leader of this delegation should be R.G. HEGMAN (PF) but the decision on the other 2 members was held over. It was also decided that, although involving the CPSU in more expense, the delegation should avoid travelling through China and the route taken should be through Hong Kong and thence by BOAC.

2. When advised of this decision later in the meeting, R. NUNES took the strongest exception to the acceptance of the invitation. He was not prepared to accept V.G. WILCOX's explanation that the invitation had been received some 15 months ago nor was he prepared to accept WILCOX's theory that it was necessary for the CPNZ to send a "friendship with the people's" delegation in order to strengthen the CPNZ position in the World Movement. NUNES was adamant that a fuller discussion should take place and it was decided that J.A. MANSON should advise the Soviet Legation in Wellington that there was a slight delay meantime.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

21/2/26

~~SECRET~~

DOA AK/4/15

HQ (CS) 19.7.1965 P.F.

Ian R. MITCHELL

1. Source understands that subject is due to leave New Zealand on 2nd July 1965 and will proceed to Moscow via London. He has been given an advance of £60 to cover expenses and pay commitments in NZ. Source was interested to learn that Brian L. FISHER (PF) was to travel from NZ on the same aircraft as MITCHELL.

2. MITCHELL was advised by V.G. WILCOX to bear in mind that he was representing the CPNZ and he was not to commit them to anything which could involve them in any problems.

3. MITCHELL had also commented to WILCOX on the Dunedin situation with regard to films. WILCOX explained that there was no splinter group and that W.B. RICHARDS was interested in reforming the Branch. This recalled to MITCHELL that Ian (John) McL. JAMIESON (PF) had surprised him by saying that as soon as membership reached 100 he would apply for re-admission. MITCHELL had told him that it was doubtful that the Party would re-admit him. WILCOX, however, thought that it was possible. MITCHELL told WILCOX that he would surely reverse this opinion had he heard JAMIESON at a Vietnam Committee meeting in Wellington. MITCHELL stated that JAMIESON had in no way changed - he was still very much left-wing.

B.3.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26

~~SECRET~~

DOA AK/4/15

Hq (CS) 19.7.1965 21/2/19

CPNZ RELATIONS WITH SOVIET LEGATION

1. At the National Secretariat meeting held on 1st July 1965, V.G. WILCOX reported on his visit to the Soviet Legation in Wellington. Discussing this meeting WILCOX stated that he had been emphatic that J.A. MANSON, Wellington District Secretary, should accompany him on this visit. This had obviously perturbed members of the Legation and the 2nd Secretary (L.A. SLABOV) had endeavoured, without success, to remove MANSON from the room where the discussions were being held. Matters discussed at this meeting had been:

(a) The NZ/USSR Society.

(b) An invitation for a delegation of 3 people for a 5 week period during 1965 had been received. According to the Legation, political matters would not be discussed and they suggested that members of the delegation should be chosen on the basis of need for medical attention.

(c) While at the Legation, WILCOX was given a message from Comrade MIKOYAN and a comrade whose name he (WILCOX) was unable to recall. WILCOX reported to the Secretariat meeting that the message from MIKOYAN had been couched in the most friendly terms. It had stated that, regardless of political differences, the CPSU fully recognised the CPNZ and they would in no way undermine the influence of the NZ Party nor would they have dealings with comrades who disagreed with the political line of the CPNZ. Source reports that this information was greeted by derisive laughter from the members of the Secretariat. WILCOX then referred to further information of considerable interest which had been contained in the message from MIKOYAN and that they were in trouble on several counts, but he was not however prepared to discuss them at this meeting.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26

~~SECRET~~

DOA
HQ (OS) 16.7.1965

A/4/15
PF

Ian R. MITCHELL - Visit to Moscow

P.W.G. McARA told J. FOULDS that I.R. MITCHELL was to visit Moscow and in this regard the Party were to advance him money for:

(a) local commitments - £40;

(b) expenses - £20;

(c) commitment on a film issue - £50.

McARA said that they would have to consider these amounts as they had drawn rather heavily on their finance and were in an awkward position until the quotas were received.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

21/2/26

[redacted]

D.O.A.

[redacted]

HQ (CS) 7.7.1965 P.F.

Ian Rex MITCHELL - Re the Academy Theatre and Invitations for Trips Overseas.

1. __Reorganisation of Academy International__: I.R. MITCHELL has confided in source some recent developments in the running of the Academy Theatre. MITCHELL has been "removed from his position" (thought to have been that of film supplier and general adviser as well as assistant projectionist) and a lease is being made out with a "young man" (as yet unidentified).

2. MITCHELL considers that he has been badly treated and when P.W.G. McARA tried to put him off by saying that the requirement for taking over the lease for the Theatre would be £100 per month, MITCHELL had immediately threatened to find £600 for 6 months rent in advance. (Source later learned that this rather floored McARA who then had to seek other reasons for severing MITCHELL's contact with the Theatre).

3. __Invitations for Overseas Trips__: MITCHELL also mentioned that he had been summoned to Wellington (to the Soviet Legation) and had received invitations to go to China for a talk with China Films and to Moscow for similar talks there.

4. Source later heard that McARA would like to have MITCHELL out of the way for a month so that he could sort out the mess at Modern Films with the help of Beth (E.) HOLLISS and Daniel J. WHOOLEY, both (PF), but that neither V.G. WILCOX nor McARA is very anxious that MITCHELL should go to China (where he would tell ties about CPNZ comrades) or to Moscow (where he would talk too much).

__B.2.__

__SOURCE__: [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

21/2/26

~~SECRET~~

D.O.A. [redacted]
HQ (CS) 6.7.1965 21/41/3

CRISES IN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM - Another World CP Conference to be called.

V.G. WILCOX spoke very disparagingly to source of Moscow's intention of calling another world meeting of Communist Parties.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~[illegible]~~
21/2/26

D.O.A.   AK/PF/239

H.Q.   2 July 1965.

RECEIVED
8 JUL 1965

Ian Rex MITCHELL

1. Based on an absence from New Zealand of one month to visit Moscow and travelling via Australia and India, subject was granted funds to the extent of £50.

SOURCE: Reserve Bank, Auckland.

2. Through N.A.C. Auckland, MITCHELL is booked to travel as follows :-

2 July 1965, Flight TE.351, Auckland to Sydney.
2 July 1965, Flight BA.721, Sydney to London, staying in London at "Park Court".
4 July 1965, Air India Flight 512, London to Moscow.

There is no trace of a return booking.

SOURCE: Air N.Z. Auckland.

[redacted]

District Officer.

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

MINUTE SHEET

Department: 21/2/26.

Subject: C.P.N.Z. - Relations with the Communist Party of the USSR.

File No. ....

To— [redacted]

Please, as discussed, would you open a file under the above heading. I do not think we need disturb the file used previously, namely 21/2/21. A suggested amendment to the name of the latter file has been put forward under a separate note.

[redacted]

2/7/65.

Item 504.

[redacted]

Ian Rex MITCHELL - Visit to Moscow.

1. Please refer to our R.31 of 6th December, 1963.

2. MITCHELL is due to leave Auckland for Moscow on Friday, 2nd July, 1965. The primary purpose of the visit is to attend a Film Festival in early July. His intended itinerary is as follows: -

2.7.65: Auckland to Sydney by Flight TE.351;
2.7.65: Sydney to London by Flight BA.721;
4.7.65: London to Moscow by Air India Flight No 512.

3. No return bookings have as yet been made, but it is understood that the CPNZ have instructed MITCHELL not to return via China. This is probably because at the moment he has not got the full confidence of the New Zealand Party leaders.

2nd July, 1965.

[redacted]

[redacted]

✓

CS1 What is file 21/2/26 please?

Relations with Communist Party of the USSR. [redacted]

[redacted] 2/7

Please see attached m [redacted]

[redacted]

CS.3. P.F.

1. 1.7.1965

Ian R. MITCHELL - Visit to Wellington

1. Source reported that Ian R. MITCHELL called at the Wellington Party office on 28th June 1965 during a visit to Wellington. He was returning to Auckland at 2 p.m. on 28th June 1965.

2. It appeared that the purpose of MITCHELL's visit to Wellington was to call at the Soviet Legation prior to his visit to Moscow. This he had done at some date earlier than 28th June 1965. MITCHELL was most impressed with Boris DOROFEEV, the Soviet Ambassador, and he referred to him as a very astute individual.

3. In discussing films suitable for the October/November Celebrations, Rona BAILEY suggested to MITCHELL that certain films be previewed in Wellington and said that she could collect them when in Auckland for the CPNZ National Committee meeting. MITCHELL had not yet prepared the films and doubted whether they would be ready in time for BAILEY, because of his visit to the Soviet Union. He said that he was leaving on Friday (presumed to be Friday, 2nd July 1965) and while he had been invited officially for two weeks, he might be away for three weeks.

4. MITCHELL commented that he was going to delight in being in Russia and intended to act the innocent country boy. He had every confidence in hsi own ability, more so than other people had in him. He would not be returning to NZ via China as he had been instructed not to do so (it was not known who by). He added that he had an invitation to visit China later in the year.

5. MITCHELL was very anxious to locate a film which P.A. HANSEN (PF) might have brought back to NZ from Vietnam. He said that there were two copies of this film in Australia but the Australian Customs were threatening to destroy one which had been brought into the country illegally. The name of this film was thought to be "The War in the Jungle".

6. MITCHELL mentioned two good trade union films which had been shown in the days of F.P. WALSH (deceased) and which he thought would be suitable for showing now. BAILEY recalled these films and disagreed with MITCHELL. MITCHELL said that he would like to obtain the films which he understood had been given to the Wellington Trades Council. He recalled the name of one of the films as "Strike on Wall Street" and John A. MANSON undertook to make enquiries for him.

7. G.E. JACKSON: BAILEY asked MITCHELL about JACKSON. He said that he rarely saw JACKSON and when he did he usually pulled JACKSON's leg. He said that he did not discuss politics with JACKSON, though JACKSON attempted to do so. MITCHELL commented that he personally liked JACKSON and was sorry about the outcome of the Jackson affair but he was not in the least sorry about A.B. SKILTON. BAILEY strongly condemned JACKSON for his role at Political Committee meetings, and considered it very wrong for a person of his understanding.

/2 ...

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

4. **Modern Films and Academy International Theatre:** MITCHELL told BAILEY that Modern Films Ltd was struggling and was heavily in the red, but said that it had been in that position before. BAILEY mentioned that she understood that the theatre (presumed to be Academy International) had folded up. MITCHELL said that was correct and that he had not been involved in the discussion on the theatre. He added somewhat aggressively that the last word had not been spoken on this matter as far as he was concerned.

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

D.O.A. AK/4/15

L. (CS) 30.6.1965 P.F.

Ian Rex MITCHELL - Invitation to Moscow.

1. John FOULDS said that I.R. MITCHELL has received an invitation to attend a Festival in Moscow in mid-June or early July 1965.

2. P.W.G. McARA thinks that any acceptance from the CPNZ should be delayed until they have discussed the matter further with Hugh J. McLEOD.

3. V.G. WILCOX was adamant that MITCHELL, if he does go to Moscow, must not commit the CPNZ financially or otherwise (presumably on films). WILCOX said that the CPNZ is "already £10,000 down the drain" (through their venture with the Academy International ?).

B.2.

SOURCE: [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

EXTRACT/COPY

rce): Reference: Date: 26.6.65

No. 21/2/26

on P.F.(MITCHELL, Ian Rex)

on Extracted/Copied by [redacted] On 19.7.65

SUBJECT: Ian Rex MITCHELL.

During a recent discussion MITCHELL informed Source that Moscow had agreed to pay for his return fare to Russia, and that SHELAKOV of the Soviet Legation had told him that he could pick up his tickets at the KLM Office, Wellington.

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

Clement G. WATSON
21/2/26

~~SECRET~~

Fd/O. R.C.B. P.F.

CS.1. 14.1.1963

George Edward JACKSON.

INFORMATION:

1. Source reports that on 5th April, 1962, subject received a cablegram from Moscow for the occasion of the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the birth of Clement Gordon WATSON (P.F.) (deceased). A copy of the translated text of the cablegram is attached.

PF destroye [redacted] 24-10-25

SOURCE: [redacted]

[redacted]

EXAMINED
27 5 21 [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

MR. GEORGE JACKSON
102 AVONDALE ROAD,
AVONDALE.

DEAR COMRADES,

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIETIES FOR FRIENDSHIP AND CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND THE USSR - NZ SOCIETY SEND THE WARMEST GREETINSS TO THE MEMORIAL MEETING MARKING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF GORDON WATSON STOP WE RECALL WITH DEEP MEMORY/FEELING HIS OUTSTANDING WORK FOR UNITY AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES AND HIS SPLENDID WORK FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF FRIENDLY TIES BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES, HIS COURAGEOUS STRUGGLE DEVOTING HIS LIFE TO THE SERVICE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE VICTORY OF THE FORCES OF PROGRESS AND AGAINST REACTION TO WAR MAY THE BRIGHT IMAGE OF GORDON WATSON INSPIRE US IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLES, FOR THE WHOLE FUTURE OF MANKIND STOP

POPOVA, PRESIDENT OF THE UNION OF SOCIETIES
IVANOV, PRESIDENT USSR - NZ SOCIETY

P/F Gordon WATSON.

Extract from "P.V." " Newspaper.

Published at , on [date] 4-4-62

SUBJECT: CS1

FIFTY YEARS AGO, on April 5, 1912, a baby boy was born on a well-to-do farm in Taihape. During the depression he graduated from University with double honours and a zeal to devote his life to the working-class struggle. This page is an anniversary tribute to that life of devotion.

GORDON WATSON

CLEMENT GORDON WATSON was born on April 5, 1912, in Taihape on a well-to-do farm, but after his mother died the six-year-old Gordon went to Wellington to live with an aunt. It was there that he graduated with double honours in English and Latin from Victoria University.

But using his brains for his own profit was abhorrent to him. Even as a student he had taken an active part in the class struggle, so in 1934, soon after leaving 'varsity, he joined the Communist Party. After a period working in industry he became a full-time Party worker. In 1936 he was Editor of the Workers' Weekly, forerunner of the People's Voice.

He played an important part in the struggle for peace and against fascism and later translated this into active service, first in the Islands and then in Italy. He refused a commission, preferring to stay with his mates in the ranks.

After only ten days in the front line, in the battle of the Po Valley, where he had shown considerable bravery in hand-to-hand fighting, he was killed by spandau fire—only 12 days after his 33rd birthday.

ITEM 509

400 pads/8/61—42911W

~~SECRET.~~ 32/239.

DOYLE, John Stephen

POLICE HEADQUARTERS,
WELLINGTON.
18th January, 1933.

Report of Senior-Sergeant H. Scott, relative to John Steven Doyle, Communist, arriving in New Zealand after visiting Soviet Russia without a permit as required by the Additional Immigration Restriction Regulations, 1932.

(Copy attached).

I beg to report that on 22nd April, 1932, (about six weeks after the above mentioned Regulations were issued) John Steven Doyle, a well known member of the Communist Party of New Zealand, left this Dominion and proceeded to England, via Australia.

Information was later received from the authorities in London to the effect that immediately he arrived in London he proceeded to the offices of the Russian Oil Proprietary, Ltd., and thence to the offices of the "Daily Worker", the Communist Organ. He subsequently proceeded to Leningrad and later returned to London.

He arrived back in New Zealand as a member of the crew of the S.S.Port Hunter and was discharged at Auckland on the 9th ultimo. He landed without a permit as required by the Regulations above referred to.

It is known that he brought back with him a considerable quantity of revolutionary literature which was smuggled onshore at Auckland in the middle of the night.

Since his return he has lectured in various places describing what he saw in Russia and the conditions of the workers under Soviet Rule.

The Commissioner
of Police.

A report relating to Doyle's return to New Zealand was received from the Auckland Police during your temporary absence from Wellington. I therefore took it upon myself to bring the matter under the notice of the Customs Department. I interviewed Mr Duncan who referred me to Dr Craig, Comptroller of Customs, to whom I related the facts above mentioned and suggested that this appeared to be a suitable case in which to apply the provisions of the Immigration Restriction Regulations.

Dr Craig stated that as Doyle is a born New Zealander the Regulations can not, in his opinion, be successfully applied to him, because, should he refuse to make application for a permit, or otherwise to comply with the Regulations, he cannot be dealt with as a prohibited immigrant.

I intimated that I would convey his view of the matter to the Commissioner of Police on his return to Wellington, and he then stated that if the Police Department wished to pursue the matter further the Commissioner could forward his views in writing and he would submit them to the Hon. Minister together with his own views, but, without a direction from the Government he was not prepared to take any action in this case.

H Scott.
Senior-Sergeant No 1241.

~~SECRET.~~ 32/239

[Police—100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Police-station: Ahaura

Date: 14th January, 1933

Secret

REPORT of A F Larsen Constable, No. 2804.

relative to John Stephen Doyle. Communist.

150,000/10/26—10546

I respectfully report that up to the present John Stephen Doyle has not returned to Nelson Creek. I will report immediately I hear of him. I have not heard of him in this district

A F Larsen.
Constable 2804.

The Inspector
Greymouth.

The Commissioner

apparently Doyle has not yet returned to this District

G. L. Edwards
Sub Inspr 19/1/33

S 32/2 39

~~SECRET.~~

Greymouth.

29th December 1932.

Secret.

Report of Detective Sergt T. E. Holmes No 1713 relative to John Steven Doyle - Communist.

I repsectfully report John Bteven Doyle resided at Nelson Creek which is situated about seven miles from the nearest Police Station which is Ahaura.

Constable Honey receives reliable information concerning Doyle's movements and it may be deemed advisable to have him make a report as soon as he arrives.

When coming to the Coast from Christchurch Doyle if proceeding to Nelson Creek will leave the Christchurch train at stillwater which is nine miles nearer Christchurch than Greymouth is.

Up to the present I have not met anyone who has seen Doyle back here but I will report report immediately I hear of him.

T. E. Holmes.

Detective Sergt.

~~Secret~~

Const Honey
For discreet inquiry please
C.W. Lopdell Insp
30-12-32

The Inspector
Report attached
M. A. Hansen
17/1/33. Constable

~~Secret~~

Detective Office, Napier.
23rd December 1932.

Report of Detective Sergeant J.Bickerdike. No.1714, relative to Jack Doyle - Communist - Returned from Russia.
"Vide attached"

I beg to report having made inquiries into this matter but can gather no trace of this man having returned to Napier. He is known to several of the men stationed at this station but he has not been seen by any of them since his return from Russia. Doyle resides with his sister in Carnell St when in Napier.

As far as I can ascertain there has been no literature or correspondence forwarded to him here since his return from Russia, and in the event of any such literature arriving here I will be notified.

I have taken a copy of the attached report of Detective Nalder for future reference should Doyle return here in the meantime.

I suggest that this file be returned to Auckland for their information and in the event of Doyle leaving there for Napier that we be immediately notified.

J Bickerdike
Det-Serg't

The Inspector
Napier.

The Inspector,
Auckland,
Referred
Jas Fitzpatrick
Inspector
24/12/32.

The Sub Insp Det
J H Hollis
27/12/32 Insp

Det Walder
Wilson
Dist Insp
27.12.32

S 32/239

[Police—100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

~~SECRET.~~

Police-station: Detective Office, Auckland.

Date: 19th December , *1932*.

REPORT of Detective P.J.Nalder , *No.* 2374.

relative to Meeting of the Friends of the Soviet Union held in the Society of Arts Hall, Kitchener Street, on Sunday evening, the 18th December 1932.

I respectfully report that in company with Detective Packman I attended a meeting of the Friends of the Soviet Union in the Society of Arts Hall, Kitchener St., on Sunday evening, the 18th instant.

The speaker was John Steven Doyle who recently returned to New Zealand from a visit to Soviet Russia. He stated that he would first explain why he went to Russia. He stated, I am a worker of worker ancestry.' My parents migrated to New Zealand. I have been interested in Russian affairs for many years. I read whatever literature I could get hold of. I used to discuss the subject and invariably people asked Have you been there? I wished to find out the truth and have been fortunate and decided to go to the Soviet Union. I earned the trip and did not go on Russian gold.

I am speaking on behalf of the organisation known as the F.S.U. and am here to disseminate the truth regarding the Soviet Union. It will be different to what you have been reading in your press and hearing from the pulpit. A few nights ago a man was telling half truths about the Soviet Union in Lewis Eady's Hall. He told damnable lies about Russia - the workers' fatherland. I suppose the powers that be paid for the Hall for him and he charged 1/- .

My experiences of capitalism have been very bitter. I had a drunken father, which is a phase of the capitalist system, and under this system there are the vices of unemployment, increasing prostitution etc.

I will draw a comparison of the conditions under capitalism with the conditions of the Russian Soviet workers. On leaving Wellington I went to Sydney. I visited the working class quarters there. I went to the Domain. I saw the big cliff with its dug-outs for the workers. There were the three products of capitalism - men living in crevices in the cliff, a church and then a battleship. I also visited Hobart and Perth. In Colombo I again went to the quarters occupied by the workers. The standard of the living of the workers throughout the World is based on the coloured workers. I saw the residences ofthe capitalists and the dumps of the workers. On reaching Suez Canal I saw a ship for the first time flying the red flag. I was nearly jumping overboard and swimming to it as it gave me a terrific thrill.

On arriving in London the first thing I did was to go onto a Soviet vessel and found that what I had read about the conditions on Soviet vessels was correct. I able to say that everything good or bad is the truth in the Soviet publications.

On boats from Sydney there are Lascar seamen working 14 to 16 hours a day getting £2-5-0 a month and the conditions are horrible.

Sub-Inspr.,
Det.Staff,
Auckland.

150,000/8/32—4834]

On the Soviet vessels the members of the crew occupy two berth cabins with clean sheets and pillow slips every week - equal to second class on any ship. The ship is run by a ship's committee. Officers and crew sit down as one. They are all comrades. They know the ship is theirs and they are eager in their work.

Thousands of people visiting Soviet Union from all countries. To understand it is necessary to be a worker with a workers ideology.

He then described the conditions obtaining in Soviet Russia in very favourable terms, making comparisons with conditions in capitalist countries. He dealt with social life, prisons, Railways, Hospitals and mines in the Soviet Union.

He said that he might be asked why he had not stayed in Russia, but to do so, that is to stay there and work over twelve months, it is necessary to apply for and be granted Soviet citizenship.

He concluded by a strong denunciation of Imperialism.

He named several parts of Russia that he visited, particularly dealing with Leningrad and Moscow.

J.S. Stewart was Chairman.
About 300 persons attended.

P J Walder
Detective No.2374.

The Inspector
Wellington
Det Insp
20 12 32

The Superintendent.
For your information,
please. J. Hollis
20/12/32 Insp

For the Commissioner
J. Till Supt
20/12/32

5/3/32

[Form No. 108.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Subject: Jack Doyle – Communist – Returned from Soviet Russia.

75 000/12/31—10845]

The Detective Sergeant,

Please obtain a Search Warrant, and execute the same, immediately Doyle returns to Napier, in respect to the alleged breach of the War Regulations Continuance Act 1920, Second Schedule 2 (4).

Jas. Fitzpatrick
Inspector
17/12/32.

The Inspector
Napier

Report attached. Suggest file be forwarded to Auckland.

J Bickerdike
Det-Serg't

5-12-32

Sub. Inspr,
Report attached.
F.J. Walden
Det No 2374
7th/1/33.

The Inspector
For the information of the Napier Police please
V Watson
Insp
7.1.33

The Inspector of Police
Napier.
For your information, please. J.H. Hollis
7/1/33 Insp

The Detective Sergeant.
For your information please.
Jas. Fitzpatrick
Inspector
9/1/33.

The Inspector
Napier
Report attached.
11/1/33 J Bickerdike
Det. Sergt

[Police—100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

[redacted]

Police-station: Detective Office, Auckland.

Date: 10th December, 1932.

REPORT of Detective P.J.Nalder, *No.* 2374.

relative to Jack Doyle - Communist - Returned from Soviet Russia.

I respectfully report that further to my report of the 9th instant regarding Jack Doyle, the Communist, who returned from Soviet Russia on the Port Hunter, from which ship he was signed off on the 9th instant at Auckland, I have ascertained that his full name is John Steven Doyle, age 37 years of British Nationality. Address No.9a Carnell St., Napier.

I ascertained these particulars from his Customs Declaration.

I have also ascertained that Doyle will be leaving Auckland and going to Napier, most likely on Monday night, the 12th instant.

Doyle's papers and personal effects were smuggled off the Port Hunter by his friends, and they are looking after his effects while he is in Auckland, but when he returns to Napier it is possible, and most likely, that he may still have some copies of "STRIKE STRATEGY and TACTICS" in his possession, (This is prohibited from importation as it is very seditious) as well as other communistic publications and papers which may be of interest to the Police.

// The fact that the Police know that Doyle's personal effects and communist publications were smuggled off the "Port Hunter" and kept in possession of his friends while he was in Auckland should not be mentioned to Doyle.

Sub-Inspr.,
Det.Staff,
Auckland.

I do not yet definitely know when Doyle will be leaving Auckland and I may yet get him in possession of his possessions before he leaves Auckland, but should that opportunity not arise in Auckland, it may be desired that he should receive attention by the Napier Police. I will report urgently when I know definitely of his movements for the information of the Napier Police, but in the meantime it may be considered advisible that this information should be forwarded to the Napier Police, so that they will already have these facts in their possession and they could be telegraphed when Doyle departs from here.

In addition Doyle is about 5ft.11in.high, ginger hair, grey suit, no hat, tan shoes, clean shaven.

P J Nalder
Detective No.2374.

Ed. Doyle

W. Lander Sen Sergt
for Insp
12/12/32

The Inspector
Wilson
Sub Insp 10.12.32

The Inspector of Police
Napier
For your information, please.
J W Hollis
10/12/32 Insp

£50,000/8/32—4634]

~~SECRET.~~ 32/2639.

[Police 100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

~~SECRET.~~

Police-station: Greymouth.

Date: 10th December 1932.

REPORT of Detective Sergt T. E. Holmes, No. 1713.

relative to John Steven Doyle - Communist.

I respectfully report John Steven Doyle was for some years employed by Donnellan Brothers, Nelson Creek sometimes as a Timber worker, othertimes driving a Motor lorry, and he also drove a steam engine which towed trailers holding timber, from Nelson Creek to Ngahere and he is described in the Electoral Roll as an Engine Driver.

The Inspector of Machinery Mr Mouat is at present in Wellington and enquiries at the Inspector of Machinery Office Wellington may be able to supply Mr Mouats address. The Inspector of Machinery Office here is locked during the Inspectors absence otherwise I would have been able to obtain particulars re the license which Doyle holds.

T. E. Holmes

The Inspector.
Greymouth.

Detective Sergt No 1713.
10/12/32.

The Commissioner,

We do not know when Mr Mouat will return here he may be seen at Wellington.

Doyle was active in labour matters in Napier during and after the earthquake.

CW Lopdell
Inspr
10.12.32

The Inspector of Police,
Greymouth.

John Steven Doyle arrived at Auckland as a member of the crew of the S.S. Port Hunter and signed off on the 8th instant. He addressed a meeting of the F.O.S.U at Auckland on the 18th instant and mentioned that he had been in Russia. It is not known whether or not he intends to return to the West Coast.

W G Wohlmann
Commissioner of Police.
22/12/32.

Det Sergt Holmes
Has Doyle returned to the Coast
Please.
CW Lopdell Insp
29 12 32

8 32/234

[Police—100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

[redacted]

Police-station: Detective Office, Auckland.

Date: 9th December, 1932.

REPORT of Detective P.J.Nalder, No. 2374.

relative to Jack Doyle - Communist - formerly of Greymouth returns to New Zealand on the Port Hunter on the 8th/12/1932

I respectfully report that about twelve months ago Jack Doyle of Greymouth left New Zealand and visited Soviet Russia. He has been a prominent communist on the West Coast of the South Island.

This morning [redacted] reported to me that Jack Doyle arrived in Auckland on the "Port Hunter" yesterday morning. He is signing off or obtaining his discharge from the Port Hunter this morning.

On arrival here Jack Doyle reported to John William Prince, Secretary of the Local Party Committee of the Auckland Group of the Communist Party. His identity and presence here is being kept a secret and at present only Prince and one other member of the Communist Party, Archie McMahon, know of his presence here.

This morning between 1 and 2AM John William Prince and Archie McMahon and Jack Doyle smuggled a suit case of Communist publications ashore, from the Port Hunter. They were chased by Wharf Officials but managed to escape.

The suit case of literature, which included a large number of copies of Strike Strategy and Tactics and the R.I.L.U. Magazine, was taken straight to 63 Newton Road, and a little later was removed from there, [redacted] expects by Norman Walding and Henry Mornington Smith and he does not now know where the literature has been taken.

Doyle has stated that he had had a "hell" of a time with the authorities chasing him everywhere while he has been away, but has expressed himself as being quite satisfied that his presence here has not been detected.

Det. Murch, who is on leave, states that he saw Jack Doyle, the Greymouth Communist, in Auckland yesterday.

Jack Doyle will be meeting communists early this afternoon and I will then see him. I respectfully suggest that this information be urgently telegraphed or telephoned to Wellington as they may desire some action to be taken against Doyle. In any case they will desire to know of his return.

P.J. Nalder
Detective No. 2374.

Sub-Inspr.,
Det. Staff,
Auckland.

The Inspector
For urgent attention please for instructions.
Det Insp 9 12 32

The Superintendent
Will you please advise Wellington urgently re this man.
Hollis
9/12/32 Insp

Interviewed D. Craig, Customs on 12/12/32

150,000/8/32 48341

NEW ZEALAND

In your reply, please quote this number

~~SECRET~~ 32/239.

POLICE DEPARTMENT,

WELLINGTON, 8th December, 1932.

MEMORANDUM for

The Inspector of Police,
GREYMOUTH.

JOHN STEVEN DOYLE - COMMUNIST.

The above-named Communist, who was the subject of a secret Memorandum from your office dated 13th April last, left for England via Sydney on 22nd idem, and his arrival in London and subsequent movements were reported to this office.

Information is now sought by the authorities in England as to whether he has ever been employed as an engine driver.

In our records he has always been referred to as a timber worker.

Please have discreet inquiries made, and advise me early if he has ever been employed in the former capacity.

He has for several years past worked about Nelson Creek and Brunnerton.

W.G. Wohlmann

~~Secret~~

Commissioner of Police.

~~SECRET.~~ 32/173

16th September, 1932.

Colonel Sir Vernon G. W. Kell,
Cromwell House,
35 Oliver Road,
South Kensington,
LONDON, S.W.7.

Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your secret letter R.L.410/1/D.S.9 of 15th July last informing me of the departure for Leningrad of John Steven Doyle.

Yours faithfully,

Commissioner of Police.

SECRET. 32/239.

POLICE DEPARTMENT,
RECEIVED
25 AUG 1932
WELLINGTON.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE
DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND

WELLINGTON,
24th August, 1932.

The Commissioner of Police,
Police Department,
WELLINGTON.

MEMORANDUM.

I am in receipt of your memorandum of the 23rd August, enclosing a secret letter addressed to Colonel Sir Vernon G.W. Kell, Oliver House, South Kensington, London, S.W.7., for inclusion in the next outgoing Dominions Office Bag.

Cecil Day
Official Secretary.

~~SECRET.~~ 32/239.

~~SECRET.~~

20th August, 1932.

Colonel Sir Vernon G. W. Kell,
Oliver House,
35 Cromwell Road,
South Kensington,
LONDON, S.W.7.

Dear Sir,

Your secret letter R.L.410/1/D.S.9 of 8th ultimo has been received, and the contents noted with interest.

With regard to John Steven Doyle's connection with R.O.P., we have no direct information, but Tom Barker referred to in previous correspondence terminating with Mr. G.M.Liddell's letter S.Z./1266 of 7th October, 1931 is now in business in Sydney in partnership with one Reddigen marketing Russian oil, and it is probable that Doyle made contact with him when in Sydney en route from New Zealand to London.

It was reported here prior to Doyle's departure that he would be joined in Sydney by two Australian Communists who were also proceeding to Moscow, but their names were not known. No doubt these are identical with Stougie and Butterworth referred to by you. I shall be pleased to hear from you again as to Doyle's further movements.

Yours sincerely,

Commissioner of Police.

[redacted] 32/239

22nd April, 1932.

Col.Sir Vernon G.W.Kell,
Oliver House,
35 Cromwell Road,
South Kensington,
LONDON, S.W.7.

Sir,-

I beg to advise that John Stephen Doyle, Communist, leaves this port to-day as a passenger per S. S. "Maunganui" for Sydney, N.S.W., where he will tranship to the S.S. "Mongolia" bound for England.

It is understood that he intends to proceed to Soviet Russia. He is in possession of Passport No.53817 issued at Wellington on 13/4/31. His description is as follows:- Native of New Zealand, about 38 years of age, 5 ft 10 in., strong build, fresh complexion, light wavy hair, long nose, thin lips, seldom wears a hat. His photograp is herewith. He is identical with Jack Doyle referred to in secret letter from Scotland Yard to Mr. Nicholls - S.B. 320/ABD/461 of 19th July, 1928.

32/173

Information has also been obtained to the effect that George Lamb, Communist, who was employed as a seaman on S.S. "Wairuna", left that vessel at Melbourne on 4th ultimo and sailed for England by the S.S. "Moreton Bay" on 12th idem. While employed on the S.S. "Wairuna" he acted as courier for communist literature between Australia and New Zealand. He is described as follows:- Born at Seaham Harbour, England, in 1899, Seaman, 5 ft 10 in., medium build, clean shaven, brown hair and eyes. His photograph is herewith.

If at any time it should come to the knowledge of your staff that either of the persons referred to is returning to New Zealand, I should be glad to be advised.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

Commissioner of Police.

S 32/239

[Police—100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Police-station: Detective Office Wgtn

Date: April 18th . 1932

REPORT of Detective N. W. Baylis. , *No.* 2385

~~Secret~~

relative to Jack Doyle, Communist, James McFee and Angus McLaggan also alleged Communists .

"Vide the attached"

The Sub Inspector
Detective Office
Wellington.

I respectfully report having made inquiries concerning the above mentioned man and undermentioned is the information which I have been able to obtain.

Angus McLaggan who is known to me, has not been seen in Wellington. He has not attended any of the Communist meetings neither have I seen him at the Trades and Labour Hall.

Prob. identical with James McVie - card destroyed 29/4/87

I have been unable to ascetain whether or not the man James McFee left from Auckland on the 1st Inst enroute to Sydney. The declarations for April have not yet been forwarded to Wellington. His name is not known at the Passport Office and he has not obtained a Passport there.

John Stephen Doyle is in possession of Passport Number 53817. This was issued to him on the 13-4-31 when he stated that he intended to leave New Zealand on the 26-4-31 by the S.S. Rangatane. He apparently failed to leave on that date, but now intends to make use of the Passport. In his application for Passport he describes himself as a single man born at Port Ahuriri on the 28th May 1895. Engine driver by occupation and home address Nelson Creek, Westland. His reason for Passport is to travel British Empire Europe, and Egypt.

I have ascertained that this man Doyle is now in Wellington and will probably be leaving by the S.S. Maunganui on Friday next the 22-4-32. for Sydney, where he will connect with a steamer leaving for England. I was able to borrow a photograph of Doyle from the Passport Office and I attach this herewith. I respectfully ask that this be returned to me as soon as possible .

I will keep a look out in regard to the departure of Doyle and I will report same as soon as definite information comes to hand.

N. W. Baylis
Det 2385

Fwd to the Insp
R. Ward
18/4/32 Sub Insp

~~SECRET.~~ 32/239

[Police—100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Police-station: Detective Office Wgtn

Date: April 19th , 1932

~~SECRET.~~

REPORT of Detective N. W. Baylis. , No. 2385

relative to JOHN STEPHEN DOYLE - Communist leaving N.Z for Russia.

The Sub Inspector
Detective Office
Wellington.

I respectfully report that since submitting my report regarding the above mentioned man, on the 18th Inst. I have now ascertained that he is leaving Wellington by the S.S.Maunganui on ~~Thursday~~ Friday the 22-4-32 for Sydney. He will occupy Cabin 125, berth 7, in the third class.

Doyle's passage was booked through Thos Cook and Sons Christchurch. He is booked to travel by the S.S.Mongolia from Sydney to England.

I have also ascertained that the Australian delegates travelling to Russia left Australia some weeks ago.

N W Baylis
Det 2385.

Fwd to the Insp
R. Ward
19/4/32 Sub Insp

The Supt
It is desirable that the photograph be copied.
C W Lopdell Insp
19 4 32

For the Commr
A Lemmon
19.4.32, Supt

~~SECRET~~ 32/238

[Police—100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

~~SECRET~~

Police-station: Christchurch

Date: April 14th 1932 , 193

REPORT of Detective N.W.Laugesen , No. 2603

relative to Communist J.Doyle -

150,000/2/31—15607

I respectfully report that I stated in an earlier report today that this Communist is in Christ-church.

[redacted] informed me that Doyle intends to stow away to Wellington on tonight's Ferry Steamer.

DESCRIPTION OF DOYLE

About 38 years. 5/9 to 5/10ins.

Slim to medium build. Fair complexion & hair.

Thin lips. Fairly thin face.

Usually dressed in light grey clothes

Usually does not wear a hat.

Tan shoes.

N W Laugesen
Det

The Inspector of Police
Christchurch

Det in Charge
~~Det Office~~

C.W. Lopdell Insp
16 4 32

for Det Bayliss
R. Ward
Det Sergt
16/4/32

The Commissioner.

The Lyttelton Police have been instructed to be watchful in regard to Doyle.

Inspector for Supt
14.4.32.

The Superintendent of Police,
Wellington.

The Wharf Police may be able to detect Doyle landing if he is missed by the Lyttelton Police.

WGWohlmann
Commissioner of Police.
15/4/32.

See separate file S 32/234.

[redacted] 32/239

[Police—80A.

[redacted]

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Memorandum for

The Commissioner of Police,
WELLINGTON.

District Office. GREYMOUTH.
13th, April , 1932

SUBJECT: Jack Doyle - Communist.

6,000/8/25—7347

Doyle left Brunnerton on the 12th, instant, per mail-train enroute to Wellington, thence to Russia.

Prior to his departure from the Dominion he will probably call on his mother at Napier, address Carlyle Street, - a sister is employed at the National Tobacco Coys Office, Port Ahuriri.

On Saturday the 9th, instant, Doyle called at the office of the Union S. S. Coy, Greymouth, and inquired as to whether the S. S. Maunganui leaving Wellington on the 22nd, instant, would connect with the S. S. Ormond leaving Sydney for England on the 27th. instant.

Up to the present Doyle has not applied at the local Customs Office for a Passport.

When Doyle left Brunnerton he was accompanied by another well known Communist, one Angus McLagan. The last mentioned is supposed to be proceeding to Wellington.

Description:- Native of Scotland, Coal-miner, about 38 years of age, 6 feet, strong build, dark hair, dark complexion, clean shaven.

To Sub Insp
Det office
I know Doyle
if it is necessary to
identify him
[illegible] Inspt
14 4 32

Another Communist, one James McPhee of Greymouth is said to have sailed from Auckland on the 1st, instant, enroute to Sydney, thence to Russia. This man was not issued with a Passport in Greymouth.

Jas Fitzpatrick
Inspector of Police.

The Superintendent of Police,
Wellington.
For inquiry at Passport office as to whether either of the persons referred to has obtained or applied for a passport, and if so have full particulars obtained, please.

WG Wohlmann
Commissioner of Police.
15/4/32

For Det Baylis
R. Ward
16/4/32
Act Supt

[Police—100.

[redacted] NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Police-station: Brunnerton

Date: 12th April, 1932.

REPORT of J Seagers. Const, No. 1646.

relative to Jack Doyle of Nelson Creek Communist left Brunnerton this morning by train for Lyttelton

[150,000/4/20—1263

I beg to report that the above named Jack Doyle Communist left Brunner this morning by the Christchurch express in company with Angus McFagan. Doyle secured a ticket for Lyttelton & McFagan one for Christchurch, although it is said that they are both going to Wellington.

James McPhee a brother Communist of Doyle and whom I made reference to in a previous report is said to have sailed from Auckland on the 1st inst. bound for Russia.

The Insp. of Police
Greymouth

J Seagers
Const. 1646.

Prob. identical with James
McVIE - card destroyed
[redacted] 29/9/87

X 32/239

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

~~SECRET~~

Police-station: Greymouth

Date: April 12th., 1932

REPORT of Detective H.C.Murch, No. 2498

relative to James McPhie, communist, believed to be visiting Russia. Probably identical with James McVIE - card destroyed 21/9/87

I respectfully report having ascertained that one James McPhie, a local communist, left Greymouth about a month ago, ostensibly to visit Sydney, but believed to be actually on a trip to Russia. There is no record of his having applied at the Customs office or elsewhere in Greymouth for a passport to leave New Zealand.

Inquiries at the office of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Wellington, may indicate whether he has applied for a passport or not at that office.

I have also ascertained that Jack Doyle, a prominent local communist inquired at the office of the Union S.S.Co. Greymouth, on Saturday last as to whether the S.S.Maunganui, leaving Wellington on the 22nd. instant, would connect with the S.S.Ormond leaving Sydney for England on the 27th. instant. He was informed the connection would be made. It is probable that McPhie or some other noted communist may be leaving Wellington by the Maunganui on the 22nd. instant.

McPhie is about 24 years of age..about 5'10"...medium build..fair complexion..fair wavy hair.. Scotch accent...usually dressed in navy blue suit..no hat.

The Inspector
Greymouth.

H C Murch
Detective 2498.

S 32/239

[Police—100.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Secret [redacted]

Police-station: Brunnerton

Date: 4th April, 1932.

REPORT of J Roagers. Const, No. 1646.

relative to Jack Doyle - Communist, "vide attached file"

[150,000/4/29—1263

I beg to report that Doyle has left Wallsend and is supposed to have returned to Nelson Creek. A Communist friend of Doyle, a James McPhee who lives in batch in Alexander Street Greymouth is said to be now on his way to Russia it is rumoured that he left Greymouth about a month ago.

Prob. identical with James McVie - card destroyed [redacted] 29/9/47

J Roagers.
Const 1646.

To Inspr of Police
Greymouth.

Detective Murch.

Please make discreet enquiries as to the whereabouts of James McPhee and if he is known to be a member of the Communist Party.

Jas Fitzpatrick,
Inspector
7/4/32.

S37/239

[Police—100A.

[redacted]

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Police-station: Ahaura.

Date: 7th April 1932. , 193

REPORT of Constable A.W.Honey , *No.* 2033.

relative to Jack Doyle- Communist- further inquiries made.
P.P. to your Office on the 5/4/32.

150,000/2/31—15607

I respectfully report that Doyle left Nelson Creek this morning and caught the train at Ngahere.. He took all his luggage some being addressed to Napier, and some to Christchurch.. He did not leave any address at the local Post Office or indicate his destination before his departure from New Zealand . It is known however that he intends to go to Napier to see his mother. He has been in communication with his Sister, who is employed at the National Tobacco Company Port Ahuriri- Napier, and also with another married sister Mrs Murphy- Christchurch. This woman's husband is a bus driver from Christchurch to Oxford, but their address is unknown.

Before Doyle left Nelson Creek he rang No 21, Greymouth which is the Telephone Number of the Union Steamship Coy, but his conversation could not be heard.

I have been informed that Doyle is the South Island Delegate, and the North Island Delegate is a member of the Wellington Communist Party. They are both going to Australia and are to be joined by two Australian Communists and their destination is Moscow. There is a conference being held in Moscow.

I have also ascertained that Mrs Doyle is living in Carlyle Street Napier.

To, The Inspector of Police.
Greymouth.

Honey
Constable No 2033.

S 38/239

[Police—100A.

[redacted]

Secret

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Police-station: Ahaura.

Date: 5th April 1932., 193

REPORT of Constable A.W.Honey, *No.* 2033.

relative to Jack Doyle- Communist- Police Gazette 1931/503.

150,000/2/31—15607

I respectfully report that Mr Jack Doyle is leaving Nelson Creek on the 6th Inst for his home in Napier. I am reliably informed that he proposes to spend some little time in Napier with his mother before sailing for Australia en route to Russia. Doyle may be known to the Police at Napier, as he spent some months there prior to the earthquake.

I am told, that he has stated that another member of the Communist Party is sailing with him to Australia, where they are to be joined by two Australiam members of the Communist Party on the trip to Russia.

Description of Doyle.

Age about 36 years, 5ft II.in. strong build, fresh complex, light wavy hair, long nose, never wears head gear, but usually dressed in light grey suit, open shirt, no collar or tie, At the present time he is walking with a stick as the result of a recent accident.

To. The Inspector of Police,
Greymouth.

A Honey
Constable No 2033.

S 32/239

[Police—100A.

[redacted]

Confidential

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Police-station: Ahaura.

Date: 28th March 1932. , 193

REPORT of Constable A.T.Honey , No. 2033.

relative to Jack Doyle- Communist. "Vide attached.".

150,000/2/31—15607

I respectfully report that Jack Doyle has left Nelson Creek and he is living with Angus McLagan - at Wallsend.

Doyle met with an accident at the Rugby League Football picnic at Rapahoe recently and he is going about on crutches. He was supposed to enter the Hospital at Greymouth and that his injury would incapacitate him for three months.

It is rumoured at Nelson Creek that Doyle is leaving for Russia, but owing to the accident it is unknown when he is leaving the district. I have been informed that Doyle has stated that he was leaving the West-Coast before his leg had recovered.. I can get the information from Nelson Creek, when Doyle intends leaving and probably his destination, and will report as soon as the information is available.

Jack Doyle and Angus McLagan are close friends.

A.Honey
Constable No 2033.

To.
The Inspector of Police,
Greymouth.

Constable Rodgers,
Brunnerton.
For attention please. Report a week hence.
Jas Fitzpatrick,
Inspector.
30/3/32.

Insp. Fitzpatrick
Please see report attached.
J Rodgers
Const 1646.
7/4/32

NEW ZEALAND.

If any reply, please
quote this number :

~~SECRET.~~ 32/~~134~~ 173

POLICE DEPARTMENT,
WELLINGTON, 21st March, 1932.

MEMORANDUM for

The Inspector of Police,

GREYMOUTH.

Jack Doyle - Communist.

It is rumoured that Jack Doyle, Communist, of Nelson Creek, may be leaving the Dominion in the near future.

Please have discreet inquiries made, and advise me if there is any truth in such rumour, and, if so, his destination and probable date of departure.

W.G. Wohlmann

Commissioner of Police.

The Detective Sergeant

To note for attention please

Jas Fitzgerald
Inspector
24/3/32

The Inspector.

Respectfully noted confidential enquiries will be made,

T.E. Holmes 26/3/32
D/Sgt

[Police—100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

[redacted]

Police-station: Detective Office, Auckland.

Date: 26th December, 1928.

REPORT of Detective P.J.Nalder, No. 2374.

relative to Richard Francis Griffin - Communist - arrived at Auckland on the S.S.Ulimaroa on the 25th-12-1928.

[150,000/9/25—8740

Commissioner's Secret File 26/39.

I respectfully report that with Det.Sgt.McHugh and Det.Sinclair, I attended the arrival of the S.S.Ulimaroa from Sydney on the 25th of December, when Richard Francis Griffin arrived. He did not have any member of the Party here attend his arrival, and did not speak publicly in Auckland. He intends to return to speak at Auckland in the future. I was present when the Customs examined his property, and several books were detained by the Customs Dept., for examination purposes.

Griffin left on the 7-40PM Express for Wellington. His address there is care Dave Griffin and Sons, Willis Street or No.3 Tanera Crescent, Brooklyn.

Ch-Detective,
Auckland.

P J Nalder
Detective No.2374.

Forwd to the Inspr
A Hammond
Ch Det
26.12.28

~~SECRET~~ 28/39

24th December, 1928.

The Chief of the General Staff,
Defence Headquarters,
WELLINGTON.

R. F. Griffin.

I beg to acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your secret Memorandum M.I.S.P/G of the 22nd instant, and, in reply, to state that the matter is receiving attention.

W.B.McIlveney,
Commissioner of Police.

[N.Z.—397.

IN YOUR REPLY
M.I.S. P/G
please quote this number

General Headquarters,
New Zealand Military Forces,
Wellington,

22nd DECEMBER, 1928.

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM for -

The Commissioner of Police,
Johnston Street,
WELLINGTON.

R.F. GRIFFIN

Information has been received from Australia that the above man is returning to New Zealand by the s.s. "ULIMAROA".

He has just visited Russia and is known to be in possession of letters and literature which may be insurrectionary in character.

I pass this information to you for any action you may think advisable.

R.C.C.

Captain,
G.S.O. (Intelligence)
for CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF

[Police—100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Police-station: Detective Office W'gton

Date: December 21st, 1928

REPORT of Detective N. W. Baylis., *No.* 2385

relative to RICHARD FRANCIS GRIFFIN Communist en route to New Zealand.

[150,000/9/28—8746

"Vide the attached"

I respectfully report that I have just been reliably informed that the above mentioned Communist will be returning to New Zealand per the S.S.Ulimaroa arriving at Auckland on the 25-12-28 Christmas Day.

Griffin is probably known to Detectives Hunt or Sinclair. of the Aucklad Office
Description of Griffin.

Age 28 years.
Height 5 feet 7 inches.
Medium to slim build,
Native of Ireland.
Fresh complexion. (High colour in cheeks)
Sharp features.

In possession of Passport No 41306.
A photograph of the above mentioned man was obtained at the time of his departure from New Zealand in May 1928.

The Chief Detective
Wellington.

N W Baylis
Detective 2385

Fwd to the Supt
R. Ward
Chf Det
21/12/28

To Inspr Hollis
Auckland
A W Morrison
22.12.28 Supt

The Supt
J. Howell
Inspr 27/12/28

For Det Nalder
R Hammond
Chf Det
24.12.28

NEW ZEALAND

In any reply, please
quote this number:

~~SECRET.~~ 28/39

POLICE DEPARTMENT.

WELLINGTON, 18th December, 1928.

MEMORANDUM for

The Superintendent of Police,
WELLINGTON.

Richard Francis Griffin, Communist, en route to New Zealand.

Richard Francis Griffin, who left here on the 9th June last to attend the "Third International" Congress at Moscow, is now returning to New Zealand by the S.S. "Orama" (Orient Line) which sailed from London on the 10th November, and is due at Melbourne on the 17th and Sydney on the 20th instant.

He has been advised by the Central Executive of the Communist Party that he may have difficulty in obtaining permission to land in New Zealand, and, consequently it may be necessary for him to cross over from Australia under an assumed name. Actually he cannot be prevented from landing, as he is a permanent resident of New Zealand.

He went to Moscow with the object of acquiring first hand information of conditions in the U.S.S.R., with a view to undertaking a lecturing tour of this Dominion on behalf of the Communist Party on his return.

He may endeavour to bring with him a supply of revolutionary literature.

He is well known to the local members of the Detective Staff.

The Comptroller of Customs has been advised.

W.B.McIlveney

W.B.McIlveney,
Commissioner of Police.

To the Inspr
W. Lamason
18/12/28 Supt
The Chief Det.
J. Rawle
Insp 18/12/28

For Det Bayliss
R. Ward
18/12/28 ChfDet

NEW ZEALAND

In any reply, please quote this number:

~~SECRET.~~ 28/39

POLICE DEPARTMENT.

WELLINGTON, 18th December, 1928.

MEMORANDUM for

The Superintendent of Police,
AUCKLAND.

Richard Francis Griffin, Communist, en route to New Zealand.

On the 9th June last Richard Francis Griffin, who is a well known Member of the Wellington Group, N.Z.Communist Party, left Wellington and proceeded to Moscow where he represented the said Communist Party at a "Third International" Congress.

He is returning by the S.S. "Orama" (Orient Line) which sailed from England on the 10th November, and is due at Sydney on the 20th instant.

He is an ardent advocate of Leninism, and is regarded as a dangerous disloyalist.

His parents reside at Wellington where his father is in business as a bookseller.

One of the objects of his visit to Russia was to acquire first hand information of conditions in the U.S.S.R., with a view to undertaking a lecturing tour of this Dominion on behalf of the Communist Party on his return.

He has been advised by the Central Executive of the Communist Party that he may have difficulty in obtaining permission to land in New Zealand, and that he may find it necessary to cross over from Australia under an assumed name. Actually he cannot be prevented from landing, as he is a permanent resident of New Zealand.

His description is as follows:- Native of Ireland, 28 years, 5 ft 9 in., pale complexion, rather large aquiline nose, blue eyes, black hair, medium build, usually neat and well dressed. His photograph is enclosed.

The Comptroller of Customs has been advised.

W.B.McIlveney

W.B.McIlveney,
Commissioner of Police.

Mr. Hollis.
20/12/28
28/39

Det Walden
for attention please
Hammond
Chf Det
20/12/28

Date-stamp of Office of Origin.

NEW ZEALAND POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.

(If prepaid in stamps, sender to affix stamps in this space.)

A. Code:................ Handed in (Time):...................... No. of Message:....................

Instructions:	Words.		Checked by
....		Sent at.................m. To.............................. By.............................. Ackgt. recd. by..................	

Charges ...

For twelve words (including address and signature) ... 8d.
For every additional word ... ... ½d.
"Urgents" For twelve words (including address and signature) 1s. 2d.
"Urgents" For every additional word ... ... 1d.

This Telegram is presented for transmission by the undersigned subject to the authorized conditions.

TO Superintendent Police
Auckland

Person referred to in memorandum Secret 28/37 arriving by Niagara tomorrow

WBM Ilveney
Commissioner

Note.—When it is not intended or desired that the sender's signature should be telegraphed it must be written on the back of the message.

No. 171A. S.L. 30 Z.] [2,000 pads/6/17—7634

NOTICE TO THE SENDER OF THIS TELEGRAM.

1. NEITHER His Majesty the King nor the Government of New Zealand will be responsible for errors, omissions, or delays in the transmission of any telegram, or for the non-delivery or non-transmission of any telegram.

2. The charges for telegrams are prepaid in postage-stamps; but at offices where a cash-register is in use payment may be made in cash. Senders of telegrams prepaid in stamps must affix the stamps in the space provided. The sender of a telegram is responsible for all charges incurred in the delivery thereof.

3. All telegrams must contain a proper address of not less than three words (except in the case of a code address), and must bear a genuine signature. Telegrams for passengers on trains should show in the address the word "northward" or "southward" (as the case may be), or other indication of direction. They are accepted at the sender's risk, owing to uncertainty of delivery.

4. The sender may prepay the cost of a reply. If the reply-form is not used its value will be refunded upon application, within six weeks, accompanied by the form itself, to the Chief Accountant, G.P.O. A reply-form may be used to send a message to any address.

5. A telegram may be accepted "Collect," in which case the value will be collected from the addressee; but the sender will be held responsible for the charges, failing payment by the receiver.

6. A telegram may be repeated back from office to office, if the sender so desires, at a charge of one-half the ordinary tariff.

7. The addressee of a telegram may have it repeated on payment of one-half of the amount paid for its transmission. Should he require a portion only to be repeated, payment must be made at the rate of ½d. for each word. The minimum charge, however, is 3d. Payments for repetition will be refunded if the original telegram is found to be incorrectly transmitted.

8. Urgent telegrams take precedence of ordinary telegrams.

9. All applications respecting this telegram should be made within three months from the date of its transmission, after which period it will not be kept.

For further regulations see *Post and Telegraph Guide.*

Name and Address of Sender : ....

....

1 "A"

Dear Comrade,

After reaching London I received two issues of the "Vanguard" hich I sent on to you. The August issue is what I consider good hile the July is not. I have marked the articles which I consider good (0) while those which are good enough to publish are marked (X). Others which could be left out quite easily, of no value are not marked. I should like your criticism if you have time to give it. Articles on Samoa, Maoris (?) etc. You will notice that the guardians of the law have been busy. One raid in Auckland for literature and following it a fine of £10 against Basham again, which his union paid. In Wellington the maximum fine of 30/- for chalking the streets to advertise meetings. I have received letters also which tell me that there have been two raids on the party and on both occasions the chief purpose of the police seemed to be to obtain minute-books and registers etc. of the party. No charge had been made as the result of the second raid up to the time of writing.

Our position amongst the miners is in a bad way. Although our influence is strong and most of the official positions have been held by members of the party. Many of these members are not real communists and they have mostly held the jobs on their personal qualifications and not as communists or on the basis of party policy. We have been trying to alter this recently and arranged for candidates of the party for all important posts on the basis of a special program for mineworkers at the annual elections in August this year. I do not know how things have gone all over the country but in Blackball where the C.E. is situated we have suffered defeat.

The beginning of this is a long story. I shall give you a few facts in case you are interested. The mines on the West Coast (South Island) have unions which are under the control of a W.C. district council. For a number of years the secretary (part-time) of this has been W. Balderstone, an ex-member of the S.P. of Canada. At one time he headed a body called the West Coast Communist Federation which disassociated itself from the early Communist Party (about 1922 or 3). The chief reasons for this were the anti-parliamentarian and anti-Labour Party outlook of himself and other ex-members of the S.P. of C. His idea was opposition to the United Front Policy and ultra-leftism. In 1925 this W.C. Federation had faded and the West Coasters all agreed to become members of the N.Z. section of the C.P. of Australia and remained in when the party became the C.P. of N.Z. (1926). For special reasons the C.E. was elected from the Blackball group (except the editor and secretary elected by conference). Balderstone was a member but always objected to the United Front policy both at conference and on the C.E. although he said he would submit to discipline. Balderstone was also Secretary of the local Union and correspondent of the Grey River Argus and editor of the Miners' Page, etc. All part-time work. He has energy and shrewdness.

Comrade A. McLagan, National Secretary for the United Mine Workers was president of the Blackball Union and in 1926-7 Secretary of the Party, and in 1927-8 Editor of the "Vanguard". He is a first-class theoretician and consistently fought Balderstone but allowed him to make it a personal issue. Mac is a big dour quiet Scotchman who dislikes reasoning with his opponents. The feud grew/

grew between him and Baldy, whom Mac accused of general crookedness. He threatened to ring Balderstone's neck, etc. The result was that Balderstone came to last conference with his resignation from the party. Mac and Doyle (Manager of Paper, rep. on "Argus", President Timber Workers, member of Party C.E.) wanted to bury him there and then and to discuss all the matters in dispute at length. I hopped in and forced Balderstone to say that he put the Party before the Miners Union or his personal opinion. His defence was that McLagan had acted without C.E. decisions in trying to force Balderstone into United Front moves. I proposed and conference accepted a resolution that Balderstone be given three months to consider his resignation, during which time he was to function as a member of the C.E. but to have no vote and to be bound by C.E. decisions. Balderstone, of course, as I had expected, refused to accept this and told us all to "go to hell", he would meet us "on the barricades". Since then he fought the party in an underhand way for a time and openly in the last few months. The breach widened all the time in the Miners Union and at one meeting Mac called him a liar and he called Mac a Bastard. The rank and file regarded both as communists so you can imagine the position. Balderstone however apparently has been deliberately crooked from what information is available. The climax came when he was responsible for diverting a job hold up at the State Mines into a Magisterial enquiry. The issue was the withdrawal of pillars from the mine and his evidence, as he boasted later, at the W.C. Council meeting was responsible for getting a decision to withdraw the pillars against the decisions of the men. In this question Mac got a resolution carried condemning him at the Blackball Union meeting. Later when the deputation from the State Miners waited on the Blackball Union, Mac was not satisfied with killing Baldy once he asked for a re-endorsement of the resolution but failed to get it by a narrow margin. The reason for this was that Balderstone made a sentimental appeal to the crowd on his early reputation and he managed to swing sufficient miners to his side, especially since he had already been condemned and was able to make it appear that Mac was personally vindictive. This has been Mac's failing and for months before I left I was urging him to make it entirely a political issue but without success.

This all seems strungout but I have now come to the sequel. The West Coast Miners with a Nat. representative present concluded an agreement in August with the owners which meant the continuation of the old conditions although they were pledged to demand a 7½% increase, and had secured an agreement of mutual support with the Seamen for this purpose. (C.P. responsibility). Balderstone and his supporters were responsible for this. This was made an issue at the subsequent elections in the Blackball Union when MacLagan was beaten by Balderstone for local secretary (by 80 votes in 500) and the party candidates with one exception were all beaten locally by Balderstone's supporters. The group took too much for granted before the election. Immediately following the election all the single men were sacked in the locality and in addition the employers began to get round the agreement by introducing the tribute or contract system. It was only then the group rallied and if you wish to get an idea of the lines they took there is a "Vanguard" article and some circulars forwarded to the Anglo-Am. Secretariat.

The important point is that now we are in a bad position in the Miners Union being fought in Blackball by the ultra-leftists, but in reality reactionaries following Balderstone, and in Denniston by the right wingers following the Alliance of Labour. The only favourable thing is that both these elements are opposed to each other. Denniston and Blackball are the largest unions in/

in N.Z. and control the West Coast Council. We will have to try to build from below on the basis of party policy and program but we cannot hope in this situation to bring the Miners into the R.I.L.U. which I had expected although I do not know the result of Jeffrey's visit (from Australia) to report on his attendance on their behalf at the Profintern Congress.

No doubt you are a bit bored and wish to be funny at my expense after reading all this but to me it is important, and will be useful for you to know if future, therefore if you can please file this letter. Further information which I received shows a general attack developing directly and indirectly against the N.Z. Workers. Shearers have been five months on strike. Flax workers have suffered a reduction in wages and other minor section of workers are getting it in the neck. In addition the "relief works" for the unemployed are being used to attack general labourers, etc. as all kinds of works are becoming "Relief Works".

The "Vanguard" circulation is still increasing. The aim is 5,000 circulation in six months which seems possible.

Again I repeat that judging the party by the paper and its recent activities, it is not its ideology which is its weakest point, but its organisation, or perhaps it would be better to say that the ideology of the party reflects weakness in organisation due to numerical weakness and geographical facts. We must strengthen ourselves organisationally which of course implies more careful agit-prop work, both run together. If you are at all able, do not neglect any opportunity of furthering those demands of mine re budget. I meant to give you details of this but forgot, I think, to do so. No doubt you have other matters to attend to but you may be able to help our small party along in some way from time to time and remember you will have been responsible for our first guiding line so we expect a fatherly interest. If the old man keeps his promises we will I am confident show results. Write occasionally when you have time. I tried to find Nelson (his is Norwegian-Samoan) in Europe but could not locate him, the League (Berlin) promised to hunt him up. I tried again in London but did not find him. So you see I am following up the ideological weakness re Samoa. I was in Ireland for a few days. My opinion is that the best man there is editor of "An Phoblacht" Peader O'Donnell. He is sufficiently important to follow up carefully. He is already known to Bob, and Emery. who agrees with me.

I attended an Anti-Imperialist Meeting in Cork, speakers, Mary Mac Swiney, O'Donnell, Professor Stockley (Cork University) and some younger ones. Good attendance (about 500 mostly young) in spite of refusal of local press to publish advertisement without permission of the Competent Military Authority.

Hig and I are forwarding a special letter re communications to headquarters, look out for it.

This letter is a hell of a lot longer than I meant it to be, better conclude. We have just got wireless of N.Z. elections. Govt. defeat. They previously held. 2/3 (two-thirds) of seats in house now only app. 27. New Party (United) also 27. N.Z. L.P. 20 seats equals six gains. The latter was what I expected. The rise of the United Party led by the leader of the old Liberal Party - Sir J.G. Ward, Minister of Finance in Coalition War Govt. and ex-Prime Minister I did not expect. The Reform (Conservative) Party was representative of the fusion of large farming and banking interests and apparently the city business interests are in revolt. Unemployment and the financial difficulties are bound to have been factors in the elections. I do not know how the party acted.

Yours for communism,
DICK. (R.F.G.) N.Z.

C. Form No. 160.]

J.

Customs Department,

C. 36/959.

WELLINGTON, 29th November, 1928.

[redacted]

Memorandum for

The Commissioner of Police,

WELLINGTON.

Richard Francis Griffin, Communist, en route to New Zealand.

With reference to your memorandum No.28/39 of the 19th instant I have to inform you that as Richard Francis Griffin is a permanent resident of New Zealand there is no power to prevent him from landing, under the Undesirable Immigrants Exclusion Act, 1919.

Officers of Customs will, however, be directed to be on their guard to prevent the importation of any seditious literature which he may endeavour to bring with him.

Geo Craig

Comptroller of Customs.

Copy

~~SECRET.~~ 28/39

19th November, 1928.

The Comptroller of Customs,
WELLINGTON.

Richard Francis Griffin, Communist, en route to New Zealand.

I beg to advise you that Richard Francis Griffin, a well known Member of the Communist Party (Wellington Group), left Wellington on the 9th June last by the S.S. "Tamaroa". He arrived at Southampton on the 16th July and proceeded to Moscow, where he represented the New Zealand Communist Party at a Congress of the Third International. He is returning by the S.S. "Orama" (Orient Line) which left England on the 10th instant, and is due at Fremantle on 11th, Adelaide on 15th, Melbourne on 17th, and Sydney on 20th December.

Griffin was born at Cork, Ireland, in August 1900, and arrived in New Zealand on 22nd January, 1914. He first came under notice here in 1921, when he became an active Member of the local branch of the Irish Republican Association, of which his father, Dave Griffin, and brother, Gerald Griffin, were also Members. During the past three years he has been an active Member of the Wellington Group, New Zealand Communist Party, and is perhaps the ablest speaker among its Members. He is an ardent advocate of the teachings of Lenin, and is regarded as a dangerous type of disloyalist.

His parents reside at Wellington where his father is in business as a Bookseller and Stationer at 53 Willis Street.

One of the objects of his visit to Russia was to acquire first hand information of conditions in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, with a view to undertaking a lecturing tour of this Dominion on behalf of the Communist Party on his return.

It is known that he anticipates difficulty in obtaining permission to land in New Zealand, and he has for that reason been advised by the Central Executive of the Communist Party that it may be necessary for him to cross over from Australia under an assumed name.

He may endeavour to bring with him a supply of revolutionary literature.

His description is as follows:- Native of Ireland, 28 years of age, 5 ft 9 in., pale complexion, rather large aquiline nose, blue eyes, black hair, medium build, usually well dressed, neat appearance. His photograph is enclosed.

W.B.McIlveney,
Commissioner of Police.

1 "B"

S.S. Orama,
18.11.28.

Dear Comrade,

I am on the way home at last. I was to wire when leaving England but after consideration I could see no reason for it. I concluded that a letter from the boat would do. One to you and one to our mutual friend. I had no trouble on arrival in England and I confess that after all the precautions I took I felt disappointed. There is one change of adress which I am advising our friend of separately. Higgins and myself are a bit concerned about communications and have written a special letter about the matter, which will come before the Anglo-American Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. through the British Party. Please follow it up and see our proposals, get considered, on your side also.

The Seamen's question in England is in a bad way and not being tackled seriously in my opinion. Hardy is apparently going to turn it in, feels himself slighted and dissatisfied. He is not all that is required in my opinion but there seems to be no-one better. He would be alright for a time in N.Z., if there is a prospect of him being available. That is if my proposals have been agreed to.

Since arriving in England I got a bunch of information and have forwarded you circulars and copies of "Vanguard" also to N.Z. referent. The party (local) office in Auckland has been raided twice and literature, Minute Books and records etc. have been seized. There was one charge, up to the time of writing, J. Basham, previously convicted for importing Labour Monthly. He was this time fined £10 which was paid by his union. The chief purpose of the police in both raids appeared to be to obtain records and information. They only succeeded in obtaining local group records as far as I can discover. In Wellington one of the members was convicted and fined for chalking the pavement to advertise meetings. He was fined the maximum 30/-. The situation in general is developing as I expected, except that we have got into a bad position in the Miners' Union.

There are growing signs of a direct and indirect attack on the wages and conditions of the N.Z. workers.

Shearers have been on strike five months. Flax workers have had a struggle over wage reductions and job hold-ups and minor disturbances have been going on.

Extract for Walsh

The Seamen concluded a new agreement with some gains (slight). The negotiations lasted over three weeks and were broken off at one stage. Walsh apparently did his job alright as he had lost the promised support of the Miners.

The Miners and Seamen had a mutual agreement (I left a press cutting giving details) to support each other før a new agreement. The Miners West Coast (South Island) negotiated first however. (They have not yet a National agreement) and although they were pledged to a demand for

a/

a general all round increase of 7½% they accepted an agreement on the old terms and lost the preference clause which allowed them to decide who should be employed. Their conclusion of the agreement without any hitch of course left the Seamen to conclude theirs separately.

The reasons for the climb down of the miners (West Coast) are due to an individual named Balderstone and to the fact that our men in the union, as I told you were elected on a personal basis and not because of their politics or policy. (The W.C. agreement generally becomes a standard.)

This Balderstone is an ex-member of the S.P. of Canada. At one time, he led the West Coast Communist Federation which held aloof from the early Communist Party (1923) because it was opposed to Parliamentary action and supposedly United Front Tactics. He is an ultra-leftist (or was). This Federation was extinct in 1925 and in 1925 he and supporters attended our conference and came into the N.Z. section of the C.P. of Aust. and remained in after it became the C.P. of N.Z. (1926). He always strongly opposed United Front Tactics as he called them, but agreed to abide by party decisions. He is secretary to the West Coast District Council which he is responsible for creating some years ago. He was also Secretary of the local Blackball Union and correspondent for the "Grey River Argus" and editor of the Miners Page. He is very shrewd but not brilliant in any way. Both jobs are only part time and he has to work as a miner to keep his large family. He has never accepted party decisions on United Front Measures although professing to do so.

Angus McLagan is also National Secretary of the United Mine Workers, President of the Blackball Union and editor of the "Vanguard" - A quiet determined large Scotchman who objects to reasoning with opponents and a good theoretician.

Both were members of our C.E. but were always at loggerheads. Balderstone claimed that McLagan tried to dominate over him and threatened that he (Mac) said "He would wring his bloody neck." The whole thing was due to personal divisions based on political divisions. The outcome was that Balderstone appeared at our last Annual Conference in December 1927 with his resignation. Mac and Doyle (President Timber Workers, Manager "Vanguard", member of C.E. wanted to bury him there and then. I hopped in and cornered Balderstone into stating that he put the party before the miners union or his personal opinion and would abide by its decisions. There appeared to be a doubt as to whether he had ever actually disobeyed a formal decision of the C.E. I managed to prevent Doyle and McLagan attacking him and got a resolution carried "Refusing to accept Baldy's resignation and asking him to remain a member of the party and C.E. on probation for three months" in order to test his willingness to put the party first. He refused to accept this as I expected and left telling us all to "go to hell" he would meet us "on the barricades." Since then he has fought McLagan in an underhand manner. McLagan claims he has been a deliberate crook for some time and has some evidence to prove his contention. Balderstone just before I left in June was responsible for a Magisterial enquiry in the State Miner. The issue was the withdrawal of the pillars from the miner. The men had fought the proposal by job-action. Balderstone as sec. of W.C. Council was chiefly responsible for diverting the struggle and later boasted that his evidence was/

was responsible for the decision to remove the pillars against the wishes of the men.

At the next Union meeting in Blackball Mac got a resolution carried condemning Baldy but he made the mistake of trying to kill him twice. At the following meeting of the union a deputation of the miners from the State Union (not in the M.U.W.) waited on the Blackball Union and Mac tried to get the previous resolution re-endorsed but failed by a narrow majority. Baldy appealed to the men's sentiment and stated that Mac was trying to kill him personally and attacking his character etc. with the aforesaid result. The agreement was the next step in the matter and then came the elections for the Blackball Union when Mac foolishly opposed Baldy for secretary and was too cocksure and lost. Only one party member was elected to an official job-checkweighman. Immediately following the election all the single men about 150 I think in Blackball were sacked and the tribute or contract system introduced to get around the agreement. The local group of the party only properly woke up then as you will see from the "Vanguard" article and circulars etc. which have been forwarded. The position now is that in the two most important unions in the country we have lost ground. The Blackball Union and the Denniston Union. In Blackball we are being fought by supposedly ultra-leftists who claimed to become unists. In Denniston the yellows of the T.U. bureaucracy are fighting us backed by the Alliance of Labour and the Labour Party. I do not know how Com. Jeffery fared in N.Z. where he was to have spent a month but unless he managed to handle the situation carefully and unless I can do something drastic I am afraid that Com. Achlutsky's hopes of getting the N.Z. Miners under his wing are not too good at the moment. The curious part of the business is that Balderstone favoured a motion to bring Jeffery to N.Z. to report while McLagan opposed it. McLagan's excuse is that it would interfere with my report as a direct member of the N.Z. party. Rather foolish!

McLagan has all along allowed this fight to become personal. At one meeting prior to all this business he was called a liar by Baldy and replied by calling him a bastard and both were regarded as Communists by the rank and file. I was trying hard to get Mac to make the division on lines of policy for a long time but succeeded too late.

In view of this position I shall have to try by hook or by crook to get the Miners affiliation from the top we can afterwards argue about withdrawals etc. of course my actions will be determined entirely by the situation when I get there. I shall report as soon as possible officially but as I had not enough facts at present I considered a letter to you would be sufficient. You can report to those concerned all that is necessary.

Extracts for Walsh

The position in the Seamens Union seems to be alright. Walsh was re-elected with a huge majority over any opponents and the same applied in all the branches, his supporters were elected I believe on our policy.

There are two things you must not forget about N.Z.
1. Don't confuse F.P. Walsh of N.Z. with Walsh of Australia.
2. N.Z. is five days steam from Australia.

Do/

~~SECRET~~. 28/39

2nd June, 1928.

The Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis,
New Scotland Yard,
LONDON.

Sir,-

I beg to advise you that Richard Francis Griffin, an active member of the local branch of the Communist Party, has obtained a passport for the purpose of travelling to London.

He will leave here by the S. S. "Tamaroa" (Shaw Savill & Albion Coy.) on the 9th instant.

I am informed that he intends to proceed to Moscow to represent the New Zealand Communist Party at a Conference.

Griffin was born at Cork, Ireland, in August, 1900, and arrived in New Zealand by the S.S. "Ionic" on 22nd January, 1914.

He first came under notice here in 1921 when he became an active member of the local branch of the Irish Republican Association, of which his father, Dave Griffin, and brother, Gerald Griffin, were also members.

During the past two or three years he has been an active member of what is known as The Wellington Group of the New Zealand Communist Party, and is perhaps the ablest speaker among its members.

He is an ardent advocate of the teachings of Lenin, and is looked upon as a dangerous type of disloyalist.

His description is as follows:- Native of Ireland, 27 years of age, 5 ft 9 in., pale complexion, rather large aquiline nose, blue eyes, black hair, medium build, usually well dressed, neat appearance. His photograph is enclosed.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W.B.McIlveney,
Commissioner of Police.

[Police—100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Police-station: Wellington Detective Office,

~~Secret.~~ Date: 31st. May, 1928.

REPORT of Detective W. R. Murray, No. 2445.

relative to Richard Francis Griffin - Communist.

[150,000/6/27—3153

I respectfully report that yesterday (30/5/28) I submitted a report relative to the above named who is alleged to be about to leave New Zealand for Moscow. I have now obtained the use of his photograph for what assistance it might prove in the matter. I have obtained the temporary loan of this photograph which I forward herewith, from the Passport Office, who hold me responsible for its return to them this morning (31/5/28).

The Chief DBtective,
WELLINGTON.

W R Murray
Detective 2445.

Fwd to the Insp
R Ward
31/5/28 Ch/Det

[Police—100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

Police-station: Wellington Detective Office,

~~Secret~~ Date: 30th. May, 1928.

REPORT of Detective W. R. Murray, No. 2445.

relative to One "Griffin" (Communist) alleged to be leaving New Zealand for Moscow.

" Vide attached."

[150,000/6/27—3153

I respectfully report that the Griffin referred to herein is Richard Francis Griffin - not Dave Griffin. This man assists in his father's business as a Bookseller at 53 Willis Street, Wellington, and he resides at 3 Tanera Crescent. He is a single man.

Inquiries at the Passport Office show that a Declaration was made by this applicant for a passport - dated the 25/5/28. The particulars contained therein show that he was born at Cork City, Ireland, on the 4th. of August 1900, and he arrived in this Dominion per the S.S."Ionic" on the 22nd. of January 1914. The applicant shows that he requires the passport for the purpose of "Travelling to London" and his proposed departure is per the "Tamaroa" on the 9th. of June. Applicant's Declaration is endorsed by Mr. P.J. O'Regan, Solicitor.

Passport No.41306 has accordingly been issued and it is recorded that the applicant will be calling for it today (30/5/28).

The Chief Detective,
WELLINGTON.

This man Richard Francis Griffin will be femembered as a leader in the Irish Republican Association movement in this City, though for some considerable time there have been no manifest activities of this Association here with regard to meetings. He is now most prominently associated with one Freeman in the running of what is known as "The Wellington Group of the New Zealand Communist Party" and, of course, he and Freeman are also mainly responsible for the activities in connection with the movement throughout New Zealand. The movement in Wellington is only poorly supported, and on the occasions that I have visited their Sunday night meetings held in the Trades and Labour Hall, Vivian St., the attendance has never been more than between 20 and 30 persons. In my opinion however Richard Francis Griffin is a "firebrand" and by far the most able speaker whom I have heard amongst the ranks of the Communists, in Wellington. I do not mean by this that there is anything outstanding about him as an orator, but he appears to be the best product which the Communist Party have in Wellington.

The Party does not appear to have any financial standing, because I know about a month ago they held a social and dance in the New Century Hall to provide them with funds. If Griffin is travelling to Moscow as alleged, it is extremely doubtful that the party could finance him out of its funds, unless they have been swelled from some outside or unknown source. It may be that Griffin is travelling at his own expense, as he is an ardent supporter of the teachings of Lenin.

Griffin's description is:- 27 years of age, bookseller by occupation, 5'9" in height, inclined pale complexion, rather large aquiline nose, blue eyes, black hair, medium build - usually dressed in grey suit and felt hat, fawn coloured raincoat with white scarf, neat appearance.

W K Murray
Detective 2445.

[Police—100A.

NEW ZEALAND POLICE.

~~Secret~~

28/39

Police-station: Wellington

Date: 30 th May, 1928

REPORT of William McLennan Detective, No. 2280

relative to Dave Griffin Bookseller 53 Willis street Communist alleged to be leaving N.Z. next week for Moscow.

[150,000/6/27—3153

I respectfully report that at II am to-day I received a telephone message confidentially stating that above named was leaving Wellington next week for London on his way to Moscow to represent the Communists of N.Z. at a conference there.

WMcLennan
Detective

The Chief Detective.
Wellington.

Det Murray
For report on Griffin please early, and his description.
R. Ward
Ch Det
30/5/28

The Chief Detective.
Report herewith.
W R Murray
Detective 245
30/5/28.

REPORT OF DELEGATE TO VI. CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

R.F. Griffin - N.Z. Delegate.

Short notice, only a fortnight, meant a hurried departure. Family difficulties - and arrangements had to be made. I was compelled to leave without all the information I should have liked.

I removed any doubts I had as to the wisdom of going, by first consulting all those in Wellington whom I considered reliable, and on their advice I decided to leave at the first opportunity. I am satisfied now that I did the correct thing.

The raising of necessary cash to get through was the chief difficulty. I estimated £100 and got £70. Half from a personal friend and half from a mutual friend of Comrades J.& S.Doyle and myself. In spite of extra, unconsidered expense I got through for approximately £62.10/-.

Comrade Walsh of the Seamen's Union furnished me with letters of introduction and information about his Union. I also got general information from Comrades Shout and Doyle. I wrote twice to Comrade McLagan for letters and information but did not receive any. I left by the "Tamaroa" on June 9th.

ON THE WAY TO SOVIET RUSSIA.

In this report I shall have to confine myself to important questions only. On the home trip I will mention only that I travelled with an Italian sympathiser - L.Frescura - who is well-known to members of the C.E. At the Panama Canal I made contacts with the negro workers, of whom there are 65,000 in the zone. On the advice of Frescura I left practically all my material in my bags believing that it was more likely to be overlooked than if hidden when the Customs examination was held at Southampton. When going ashore I had, wrapped ready for post, a copy of the last Congress report of C.P.G.B. in my hand. The customs officer immediately insisted upon opening it and called a detective. I believe he had special instructions as practically all other passengers were allowed through without any examination. I could not have brought a safety match ashore in my bags so carefully was the search conducted. They did not search me personally although they examined my overcoat and asked if I had concealed anything. Private letters of which I had copies, party minutes and reports and ordinary T.U. information were taken and I was instructed next day to report at Scotland Yard in order to hear the result. The train was delayed specially for my benefit and a flurry of excitement caused amongst the passengers as I had hidden my mission from them.

I reported as soon as possible on Monday 16th July, to Comrade Inkpen Gen.Secretary, C.P.G.B. He was of the opinion that I would not get a passport to proceed further and suggested not going to Scotland Yard. I decided if necessary to go through without a passport. Next day I went to Scotland Yard and by posing as a business man who had to leave London I got my papers after some delay (at 5 o'clock p.m.) All important papers showed signs of having been copied.

Next morning I used the business card again and obtained an application form (duly stamped) from the High Commissioner for New Zealand in London for a passport endorsement for France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Italy and Spain etc.

I left as soon as possible the same day (18th July) via Hook of Holland for Berlin with instructions as to how to proceed. In Berlin I met Comrade Stewart (C.P.G.B.) and Comrade Emery (Int.Sec. for Mopra(I.C.W.P.A.) who both assisted me to get through.

I obtained(as a business man) the British Consul's endorsement to passport for several other countries including Poland and also the necessary special Polish Visa. The Russian Visa is supplied separately. I left Berlin, on the 20th but stayed a day in Warsaw in order to get passport endorsement or stamp to show that I had stopped in Poland.

Polish frontier scrutiny is military and very strict.

It was with a sigh of relief that I passed the Red Army Blockhouse and first saw a Red Star in a soldier's cap. The sound of singing accompanied by concertinas came from outside the blockhouse and was in itself a contrast to the stern military attitude of the Polish border house passed 30 minutes earlier.

ARRIVAL IN U.S.S.R.

At Moscow after minor difficulties I was taken to the Delegates' hotel and almost immediately taken under the wing of the British Delegation.

Due to the non application of the N.Z. Party there was some difficulty in getting recognition and entrance to the Congress. Ultimately (after a week) as the result of the efforts of Comrades Rothstein, Arnott and Stewart (C.P.G.B.) I received a consultative mandate which allowed me on the floor of the hall. Prior to this I was only allowed in the gallery.

BRITISH DELEGATION MEETINGS.

I was invited from the first to attend the meetings of the British delegation and during my whole time in Russia and England was assisted very much by Com. Rothstein who also put me up while in England.

As a visitor I dod not enter into the discussions in general of the British Delegation. I expressed my opinion, on certain parts of the programme- Lack of attention to the British Empire as such to the Irish rebellion of 1916 as the beginning of the revolutionary waves in Europe during the War, the oversight of Social Democrats in War Cabinets such as Henderson and his attitude in 1916 and other minor points - also on the Colonial Theses I spoke on similar lines to my speech at the Congress and suggested the needfor a full discussion with the Colonial and Dominion delegations with reference to their relations with each other and with the C.P.G.B. I also claimed in one discussion that the reason for the failure of the C.P.G.B. to retain its membership was the form and character of its party training and sufficient attention to such training. This last was hotly denied by Comrade T. Bell.

Shortly after reaching Moscow I was approached by a Comrade Verdaro of the Russian C.P. who professed to be writing a book on the world labour movement. He asked for information on New Zealand but really wanted verification of the history of the C.P. in N.Z. which he already possessed in detail down to the names etc. of those who took part in the early internal squabbles. I suspect him of being some form of investigator. I gave him what information I considered necessary.

It is impossible to report many things at length, such as the conduct of Congress, the system of translation and numerous other matters. I must confine myself to matters of chief concern to our party. As a newcomer to Russia unable to speak anything but English, I found information very hard to get at first. I had some trouble in finding the proper authorities to whom to report.

Having heard that one Australian delegate was left short in expenses and had to borrow from the C.P.G.B. I made my first business an enquiry about expenses and laid my claim. The responsible comrade at first refused to see me until after the Congress but I insisted and ultimately secured an interpreter and a promise that my claims would be recognised. I was also instructed to refer political questions to Comrade Petrovsky (Anglo-American Secretary). I was met rather coldly by him, especially as I admitted I was not a member of the C.E. of N.Z. This comrade while exceptionally able and well informed generally appeared to be in almost entire ignorance about New Zealand, which is not surprising, but later he interfered while I was discussing New Zealand with Comrade Losovsky and made a number of incorrect statements very dogmatically such as "There are two parties in New Zealand one with a membership of 300 and one with a membership of 80."

At Losovsky's request I made a report on New Zealand with particular reference to the Trade Unions. Subsequently I added special reports to this such as Organizational and Agit-Prop reports as well as a collection of statistical data.

THE CONGRESS.

My participation in the Congress was that of observer. I arrived about four days late while Conrade Bucharin's theses and report was being discussed but did not get into the hall until after the discussion had opened on the programme. I was urged by several comrades to speak on the Colonial theses, chiefly I believe to get my support as an individual against the theses of Kunsinen, which caused a wide difference of opinion, and was in my opinion correctly and strongly opposed by the British Delegation. I asked the advice of Comrade Petrovsky as to whether I should speak and his reply was to the effect - "Yes, if I wanted to support him on Kunsinen in the discussion. I took what I regarded as my own line as reported in Inprecon. I was badly reported by the stenographer as I had only 15 minutes and as usual spoke too rapidly. I made the case that in a theses on the Colonial Revolutionary Movement, the Dominions should be considered. I urged the special importance of Australia and New Zealand in the event of War in the Pacific or of a revolutionary upsurge in India or China. I tried to avoid giving exaggerated importance to New Zealand;however the demand for consideration for the Dominions seems to have given the impression to some Comrades (Petrovsky) that I regarded Australia and New Zealand as colonies. On the general line of the theses I claimed it to be incorrect theoretically, its form to be wrong, particularly its classification of the colonies, illogical, and weak, not concrete enough in conclusions, and stated that unless a better theses was produced the colonial revolutionary movements would not have confidence in the C.I. and our parties would not have a clear lead. This last statement was misunderstood by some comrades who discussed it privately with me, as having break-away tendencies. I demanded of Com. Petrovsky that I should have the right to go on the colonial commission since there was also no one from Australia but he bluntly refused to agree and again I expressed my dissatisfaction. Only those countries with subject races and Latin America were represented on the colonial mission. It was unfortunate that in all discussions that N.Z. could not manufacture a subject race.at which many leaders of the C.I. & C.P.S.U. spoke.

During the Congress I missed very few sessions (Plenuns) and also attended British Delegation meetings, in between sessions. I went to factories, ward conferences of the Party and several functions, such as the Red Army (October) Camp on one Sunday where all delegates were guests and manoeuvres were held. I selected the G.P.U. schools (Military Police) I attended the opening of the Park of Culture and Rest, a dinner at the Red Army Institute and many other functions. I also attended the opening of the Y.C.I. Congress held in one of Moscow's biggest theatres.

My impressions of the congress were that every facility was allowed for discussion and every attempt made to arrive at unanimous decisions. There was no room however for timidity. Delegates who had anything to say had to assert themselves. Better preliminary arrangements could have been made, and a greater degree of punctuality and attendance demanded of delegates. Plenons should have been held more regularly. Other minor questions could have been better organized but nevertheless it was probably the most successful International Congress ever held. Seven new affiliations, all colonial or semi-colonial were made including New Zealand. Formal application for affiliation being made by myself. I cabled N.Z. when this was secured.

During the Congress I met several Chinese comrades and arranged for information to and regular contact with N.Z. They also gave me some manuscript articles, copies of which were posted to N.Z.

Extracts from Report made to Party on my return Dec-1928 - R. Griffin

DON BAS VISIT.

After the Congress as many delegates as possible were sent on excursions to different parts of the Soviet Union. I decided to go to the Don Bas region where the most important coal and metal mines and blast furnaces are situated. There were 14 delegates on the trip with four interpreters and also a commandant (Secretary) and leader - 20 persons all told in a special sleeping car. I cannot here go into details except that we were exceptionally well treated, that we covered almost every inch of the Don Bas in motor cars, were overworked, having to speak at huge meetings 3 or 4 times a day, go over factories and down mines. The trip was to occupy 16 days but actually took 21 days. The route was --south by train though Tula, Kharkov, Dnieprop to the Don Bas in motor cars, then down to Sebastopol and the Black Sea Fleet Base, thence by steamer to Odessa up to Kiev and back to Moscow, a complete circle through the Ukraine.

Before leaving for the Don Bas I had seen Com. Losovsky of the R.I.L.U. and Com. Petrovsky and handed in reports but found that they had not been read in my absence. It was claimed to be after the Congress period when all the heads of departments were on holidays, but I visited each department separately and asked for instructions. Everyone asked for reports and nobody read them. Com. P. Arnott had been given charge of the N.Z. resolution but was still absent in Turkestan and did not get back for about a week after my return in time for a meeting of the Political Secretariat. I was instructed to report to this meeting and did so (copy attached). I began by objecting to making reports which nobody read. From this time onwards more attention was paid to me and reports were sometimes read. I asked that Com. Arnott's resolution should be prepared immediately and he was given give days. It was produced up to time but delayed by Com. Piatinitsky for minor alterations. I also objected to certain minor points and particularly to the demand for establishing several new organizations, Left Wing, Minority Movement, Friends of Soviet Russia, Anti-Imperialist League etc. etc. Other points of difference can be reported on when the resolution itself comes up for discussion. I was in the difficult position of having only one copy of the "Vanguard" (July) not a good issue but regarded as typical. Before I left N.Z. I had asked for a file to be sent. The issue of the "Vanguard" was the cause of a lengthy -- discussion by Coms. Arnott and D and myself who claimed it was poorly written and ideologically weak.

During this period the Anglo-American Secretariat was under the control of Com.Demar (temporarily). He was easier to deal with than Petrovsky who was on holidays. With his assistance I got many things carried through.

I was dissatisfied with the attention paid to my reports by -- the Agit Prop. and Dig. Dept. to whom I made reports. Agit-Prop. merely made vague references to self study and Party Training syllabuses. The Dig. Dept. promised to revise our rules and to send us a latter later.
ORG

The Women's Dept. was the most satisfactory showing a keen interest and making extremely practical proposals. I had a lengthy discussion with Com. Neill and Com. Meerovah and another comrade. They gave me a special letter of instructions as to the means whereby we should attempt to approach the women workers.

The Y.C.I. was one of the most difficult bodies to get attention from, but finally I had a discussion resulting in a promise on their part to send us instructions and material regularly and also to endeavour to send an experienced Y.C.L. worker to N.Z., probably a miner to assist in the organ-ization of a Y.C.L. in N.Z. We, to undertake the responsibility of assisting im to secure a job. I made it plain that we could not keep him. A lengthy iscussion took place on the question of the correct attitude towards the ilitary conscription Act in N.Z. This was later discussed with Comrade T. ll, Higgins (Australia) and Massey of the Y.C.L. It was finally agreed to nd a special letter on the matter at a later date.

I also reported to the Y.C.I. Children's Bureau and learned that Com. Lynch of the British Young Comrades League had reported on New Zealand and that they thought a good deal of our Young Comrade. They promised to send information and material regularly. The N.Z. Y.C.L. is to be placed under the patronage of the Odessa Y.C.L. and later to receive assistance from them. I also arranged for two other sections of the pioneers to communicate with our Young Comrades League.

At the Comintern I also made certain proposals for assistance chiefly organizational but could not get them considered for some time. Finally I had an interview with Piatnitsky and assistance was promised but on reaching Australia I find that promises have not been kept.

M . O . P. R.

Towards the end of the Congress I was invited to attend the meetings of the enlarged Executive of the M.O.P.R. or International Red Aid which is an auxiliary organization of the Communist International known in other countries by the titles International Class War Prisoners Association or Labour Defence etc.

The Russian section of M.O.P.R. is in organizational capacity second only to the Party itself. Many of the leading officials are political emigrants from Europe and much finance is obtained through collections, levies, social functions etc. etc. throughout the Soviet Union. The International M.O.P.R. renders assistance everywhere in Europe to Class War Prisoners and their dependents, also for legal defence.

I had met one of the International Secretaries in Berlin on my way into Russia and he was responsible for the invitation to the executive meeting. A special effort is now being made to develop sections in the colonies and the executive is especially interested in establishing a section in New Zealand

I was prevailed on to speak and outlined the repressive measures existing in New Zealand such as banned literature laws, seditious laws, military conscription etc. and suggested that these were the basis for an organization in N.Z. and that it might be possible to build committees in agitations against these measures. As a result certain proposals were made and agreed to by me, on behalf of the C.P.N.Z.

After my return from the Don Bas I, along with Com. Higgins, of Australia, managed to obtain the services of an interpreter, with whom we visited several factories and institutes such as the Red Army Institute and others, and also saw plays of a revolutionary character at the Revolutionary and Art theatres.

We also made some friends and investigations on our own account.

I visited "Pravda" with Com.Higgins and was put in touch with the Worker Correspondents Section who promised to see that Russian workers corresponded with us in N.Z. and I also made a brief report on our position and possibilities of worker correspondents in New Zealand.

On two or three occasions I visited the Marx-Engels Institute which is collecting and classifying the works of Marx & Engels and publishing the collected works in all languages. In the process a great International Library is being built up. Com. Riazanov became quite interested in N.Z. and went to some pains to show Com.Higgins and myself much of the "originals". He informed me that there was a branch of the First International in N.Z. in 1872.

Com.Peluzzo who is an ex-editor of "Avanti" left for dead by the Fascisti is now one of Riazanov's general staff and he also became interested in N.Z.& always gave Com.Higgins and myself cordial welcome to his rooms, promising to keep up communication. He promised to obtain all the facts about the First International in New Zealand in 1872 and send them on as a news item.

The Institute requires books on the Labour Movement in New Zealand and undertakes to pay for all forwarded.

LENIN STUDENT.

I succeeded after lengthy battling in getting the right of our Party to send one representative to the Lenin School for two years and obtained the necessary fare. The next term commences in September of this year. The instructions in connection with the selection of a student are that :-

(1) Industrial workers are preferred; (2) Single comrades are preferred; (3) Guarantees to return to New Zealand are necessary; (4) The student must have more than an elementary knowledge of communist principles; (5) and must be one who is likely to be a party leader at the end of the term.

In order to make sure of getting a satisfactory student I had to sign an undertaking that if he was returned to New Zealand as unsatisfactory we (the N.Z.Party) should be responsible for the expense.

The conditions for study are the best possible. Students get supplied with material translated free. A course is estimated to occupy six hours a day (but will occupy more for the average student). Russian is compulsory. There are tutors in all languages. A magnificent library. Two students occupy a room. There is a restaurant where all food is obtained free. In addition an allowance of about 1½ roubles (3/-) per day is made.

The system consists of lectures, self-study courses, attendance at Factory Committee Meetings, District Soviet Meetings, Party Meetings etc. and a group of the C.P.S.U. functions at the school. Free access is also arranged for all Institutes (Marx-Engels,Lenin etc.) and Museums (Revolutionary, Military etc.) For six weeks in the first year students work in factories in groups, and live out, reporting on any phase of activity or conditions. In the second year they go individually for six weeks to distant parts of the Union and report on return. The system is one entirely of study and reporting. Self-government is the rule also in administrative matters. Students are represented on all controlling bodies.

The selected student will have to resist the temptations of a comparatively easy life, in a country not bound by ordinary conventions.

The course is to be looked upon as a finishing course to training of Party leaders and begins with an examination of the candidate which is by no means easy. The conditions of the country are taken into consideration in judging the student's efforts in examination.

With so many big problems of big parties it is difficult for the N.Z.party to get proper attention and it needs therefore someone who knows what is wanted and is sufficiently aggressive to go after it.

The conditions and conduct of the scholar can all be reported on separately. I interviewed the Director of studies - Com. Rudasch and also some of the students and obtained information also from Coms.Murphy and Arnott of the C.P.G.B. Com. Arnott at first suggested that I should remain for the school but I insisted that I had to return and report and also that the N.Z. comrades should be free to select the proper candidate, and expressed the opinion that I would not be spared. After consideration he agreed that I must report to N.Z.

During the Don Bas tour I made certain contacts and promised to put militant N.Z.women and pioneers in touch with groups in the mines of Artemovsk.

Before leaving for Don Bas just after the opening of the Y.C.I. Congress I agreed to go one night to the Y.C.L. meeting of the Central Club of the Red Woodworker in Moscow, where I received a great reception and the pioneers there gave me a letter asking our pioneers to communicate and sending a photograph etc.

I left Moscow on Tuesday 16th October after practically three months in the Soviet Union.

CONTACTS IN BERLIN.

On arrival in Berlin on the following Thursday I set to work to secure contacts for N.Z. with all possible bodies visiting the Party Offices, Inprecon, the Workers International Relief, The Anti-Imperialist League, Friends of Soviet Russia, I.C.W.P.A. and the representatives of Russian Films, I had intended staying only a day or two but actually remained six, making reports and leaving addresses to which material would be sent etc. I also witnessed on the Sunday the Social Democratic and Communist demonstrations on the 50th Anniversary of Bismarck's anti-socialist laws.

On Wednesday 23rd October I left for Hamburg to arrange other contacts but was unable to see the comrade whom I was instructed to meet. This requires a separate report. From Hamburg I proceeded to Paris and without delay through Dieppe to London arriving on the Friday morning 25th October, and reporting the same day to Com. Inkpen.My reason.for going through Paris was the fact of the easier entrances to England without examination.

CONTACTS IN ENGLAND.

In England I also secured contact and left addresses etc. with the Labour Research Dept. The Anti Imp.League, The I.C.W.P.A., Friends of Soviet Russia, The Workers Life, Sunday Worker, Martin Lawrence Publishers, The Workers Bookshop, The Angle-Russian Parliamentary Committee, The Minority Movement and others.

I made a special report to the Col. Commission of the C.P.G.B. and also raised special questions with the Secretariat of the Party. I also enquired into Party Training methods etc.

While in Moscow I had made arrangements for the cleaning up of our account. The British Party having agreed to cancel half and the C.I.Publications Dept. to pay the other half. This gives is a clean sheet. I also made other arrangements to secure the despatch of literature. This will be reported separately to Literature Dept.

I visited Ireland, at my own expense, from Friday to Wednesday 2nd of November to 7th - and learnt a lot about the conditions of the movement there.

THE RETURN.

On Saturday November 10th I left London with Com. Higgins of C.P. of Australia on the "Orama" via Suez for Australia and N.Z. On board ship we confined our activities chiefly to studying further aspects of life in Soviet Russia and did not let our identity become generally known. At each port Gibraltar, Toulon, Naples, Pt.Said and Colombo we endeavoured to get as much useful information as possible. At Colombo we discovered the offices of the Ceylon Labour Unions and interviewed the President gaining considerable information.

On the return journey to N.Z. articles were written which had been previously promised for the "Labour Monthly", "Anti-Imperialist Review", "Worker's Life" and "Sunday Worker".

IN AUSTRALIA.

At Freemantle our baggage was specially examined by a Customs Officer under a detective who informed us of "instructions from Canberra". The secured a considerable quantity of our literature and on our insistence gave us lists. The Literature of Com. Higgins was despatched to Canberra for scrutiny while mine was to be sent under seal to the Customs authorities in N.Z. We reported this to all the Labour papers we could get into touch, in Perth (West.Aust. Worker) Adelaide (Sth.Australian) Melbourne (Labour Call) Sydney (Aust.Worker) I also wrote it up for the English "Workers Life" and "Pravda" and reported it to the Anglo-American Secretariat. In Perth, during the few hours at our disposal we attempted to secure contact with party members and sympathisers, particularly Com.Kilpatrick of N.Z. but were not successful. We saw actually only two women comrades.

In Adelaide we also had difficulty in finding sympathisers or party members, but succeeded in getting much of Com. Higgins material posted. Two women passengers whose assistance we obtained were, however, accosted by a detective and warned against us.

In Melbourne we attended a group meeting and interviewed several members and sympathisers but time was too short.to do much.

DISCUSSION WITH C.P. OF AUSTRALIA.

I wrote to the Gen. Sec. of the C.P. of Australia from Freemantle asking for a meeting of their C.E. to discuss a number of questions. We found on reaching Sydney that this was impossible due to a special meeting in the Trades Hall. Therefore during the afternoon I discussed all points with Com.T.Wright (Sec.) Com. Higgins, Jeffery and Carpenter(P.P.T.U.) The following are the points and decisions :-

(1) Regular exchange of information - Agreed -

  (a) For Press - For "Vanguard" - For "Workers Weekly".
  (b) Reports of importance - on T.U. work etc. - or reports sent to C.P.G.B. or E.C.C.I.

(2) Literature and Publications -

  (a) Supplies for N.Z.at best rates of Aust. publications. (Agreed at cost-price)(standing order ½ doz.)
  (b) Printing of pamphlets for N.Z.(or leaflets) such as Programme of C.I. (quotations given).
  (c) Co-operation in obtaining literature supplies from abroad - securing couriers between Aust. and N.Z. - They promise to enquire and do their

utmost and to advise is. We to do likewise - Address for communication given - Our courier to visit hall for literature and arrange to have it sent to private place outside where it can be picked up.

(3) Contact with E.C.C.I.

(a) Joint pressure for better communications, information and general attention.
(b) Advice to N.Z. when anyone is leaving Austzalia for E.C.C.I. or elsewhere.
(c) Joint departure of Lenin students.

It was agreed that we should co-operate on demands on E.C.C.I. The first question being the endorsement by the Aust. and N.Z. executives of the letter of ~~the~~ myself and Com. Higgins re communications. When anyone leaves Australia (or N.Z.) for Europe (or U.S.S.R.) advice to be sent as early as possible so that we can send reports and requests. Lenin students if possible to depart together and to undertake to bring forward matters at the E.C.C.I. If an Australian to look after N.Z. also or vice versa.

(4) The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (discussed with representative)

(a) "Pan Pacific Worker" - It was agreed to supply quantities of this free of charge for a time in order to get it introduced and develop the circulation. Lists of addresses and quantities were handed in by me. It was also agreed to circularise unions etc. soliciting subs. or bundle orders.

(b) It was also agreed to circularise unions from the N.S.W. Labour Council urging support for P.P.T.U.S.

(c) Supplies of P.P.T.U.S. pamphlets to be secured free in the meantime. Profits to be used for propaganda (leaflets etc.) on behalf of P.P.T.U.S.

(d) The question of sending a representative of the A.C.T.U.C. to visit N.Z. was discussed. It was finally agreed that if invitations could be sent from N.Z. probably J. Ryan could be sent at the end of January. An attempt to be made to send him to the Alliance of Labour Conference in February next to state the case for the Alliance affiliation to the P.P.T.U.S.

(e) I also agreed to see that an article on the N.Z. Labour Movement should be sent in Jan. or Feb. for publication in the "P.P. Worker".

(5) The question of Joint Anti-Imperialist activities - campaigns on such questions as "Hands off Samoa" "Solomons" or "China" etc.

It was agreed that this should be done, information to be exchanged, drafts of circulars to be sent, and simultaneous dates fixed for propaganda demonstrations etc. Either party to ~~invite~~ initiate activities when a concrete case arose.

(6) On the Literature ban joint action was also endorsed. Concrete cases to be reported to each party, to the C.P.G.B. and other organizations in England. This to be combined with joint efforts to defeat the ban by cooperation in obtaining supplies.

(7) Trade Union Delegation to U.S.S.R.-

It was agreed that any N.Z. delegation should go with the proposed Australian delegation to be combined with the sending of delegates to the P.P.T.U.S. Congress in August in Vladivostock. Delegation to ~~have~~ leave in April and return in October. Estimate of cost per delegate £120. The Australian Party agreed to see that all necessary information is sent to New Zealand.

(8) Immigration -

It was agreed that any policy on this question or propaganda matter should be sent by the C.P. of Aust. to N.Z. We to reciprocate. Some discussion arose as to the correct policy but no finality was reached.

(9) Joint work amongst seamen -

It was agreed that we should send extra "Vanguards" to Australia for sale amongst seamen in Australian Ports. We to obtain sufficient supplies of "Worker's Weekly" in N.Z. for similar purposes. More attention to "Vanguard" was promised.

(10) Women & Young Comrades Work.-

The General Secretary of C.P. of Aust.(T.Wright) promised to arrange that the bulletin of the Militant Women's Group and all circulars etc. of the group and of the Y.C.L. should be forwarded regularly. We to do the same at our side.

(11) The question of Com. Jeffery's visit to N.Z. was also discussed. I disagreed with the decision which prevented his reporting to the miners as I believe it would have had a good propaganda effect. The question of his still being sent with a mandate from the N.S.W. Labour Council was also discussed and it was decided that it could still be arranged if I had difficulty in securing the affiliation of the Miners or Seamen to the R.I.L.U. or even later to explain and propagate support in general amongst the rank and file for the R.I.L.U. It was decided to leave the matter for me to report on after consultation with N.Z.Comrades.

This concluded the discussion.

I enquired about the promised film from Russia of the 10th Anniversary Celebrations and found that it had arrived. Com. Higgins agreed to see that it was forwarded to N.Z.to F.P.Walsh of the Seamen's Union as the most likely means of getting it through. On the arrival of the "Orama" the Australian Customs at Sydney had a special note to examine my bags. I protested that there had already been one examination and that in N.Z. I would have another. They therefore agreed to forward my bags under bond. I therefore left two bags with the Orient agent to be placed on board the "Ulimaroa" but after boarding the vessel I could only locate one. The boatswain informed me that the other would be in the hold and I would get it in Auckland. This was awkward as I had some literature in it which I intended to remove on board. I was also given the name of a fireman who would assist me but discovered that he had left the ship; however there are a number of Freezing Workers who are sympathetic and promised to assist.

This completes my report. I believe that my trip is already justified if only to secure contacts abroad for the N.Z.party and to draw the attention of all the international bodies who are concerned as well as our press to the existence of our party. The assistance and advice of the C.I. is also of great value and could not have been obtained without a representative. It is regrettable from my point of view that the C.I. has a tendency to snub representatives of smaller parties, probably due to the enormous and more urgent questions of the larger European parties. It should not be necessary for any duly qualified Communist to have to fight every inch of his way at headquarters. There is a danger of bureaucracy in this and many good comrades are likely to be pushed into the background by representatives of larger parties while these representatives may possibly be mere adventurers.

However, the experience and knowledge gained by me personally had I believe made me more qualified to carry on Communist work in N.Z.

The visit to Russia alone has proved to me what the workers can do when properly led and that Socialism in one country is possible. A close-up view of the building of Soviet Russia by the workers is stimulating and inspiring. If by means of an active propaganda tour, which I believe to be necessary, I can pass on some of my enthusiasm, it will strengthen our party and secure another outpost of defence for Workers Russia.

We outside Soviet Russia have a great responsibility for their difficulties and must strain every effort to bring our workers into line.

We have a great distance to go judging by our brother parties in Europe but this simply means greater effort on our part.

R.F.Griffin.